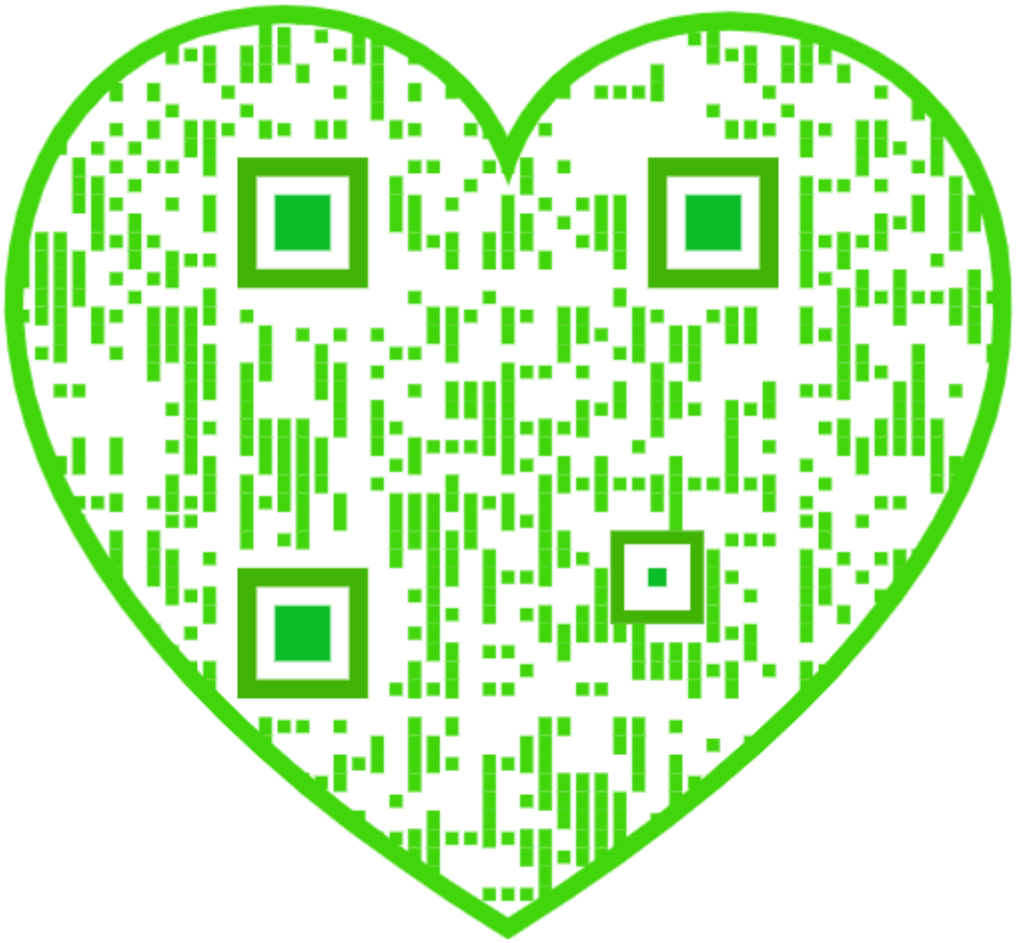

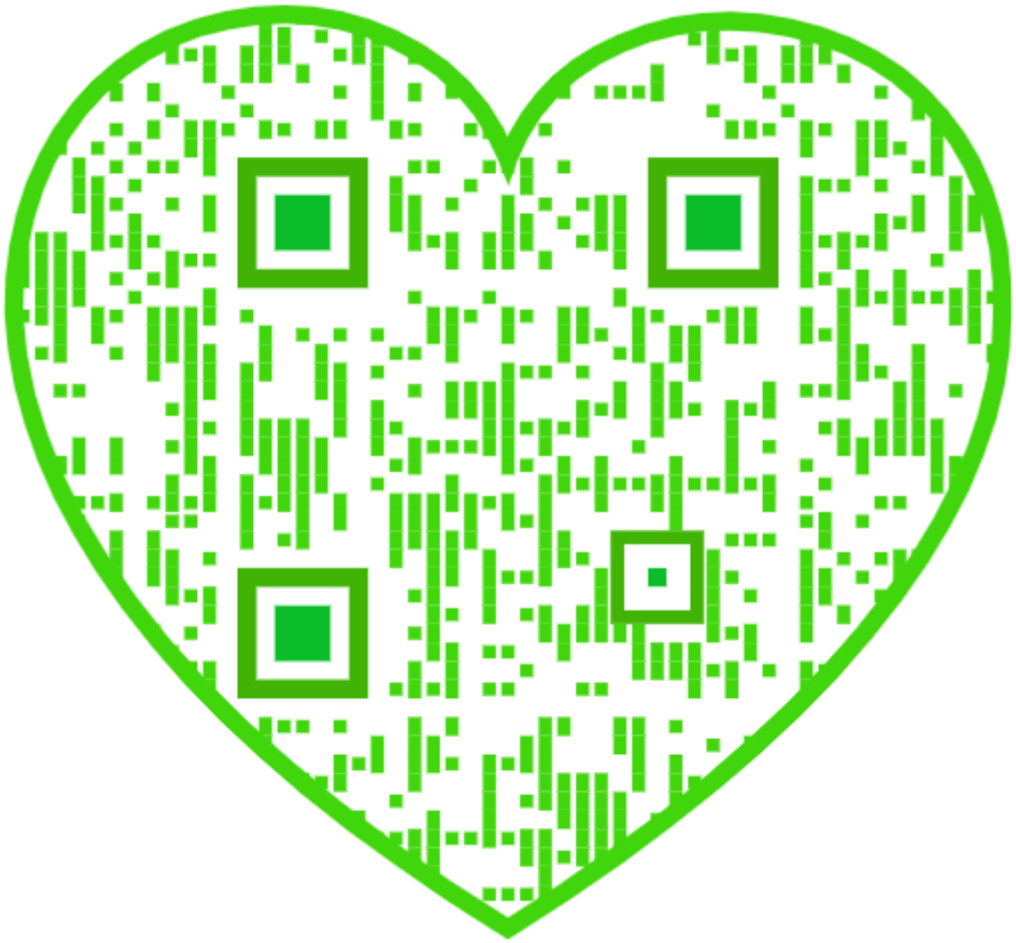

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GAELIC PIONEERS OF CHRISTIANITY

The Work and Influence of Irish Monks :: and Saints in Continental Europe ::

(VI^th—XII^th Cent.)

By DOM LOUIS GOUGAUD, O.S.B.
Benedictine of St. Michael's Abbey, Farnborough

Translated from the French by Victor Collins
With a Preface by Father Augustin, O.S.F.C.

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To

MY FRIEND

M. F. DUINE

AFFECTIONATELY AND GRATEFULLY

L. G.

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INTRODUCTION

THE first part of this little book originally appeared, in 1908, in the *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* as *L'œuvre des 'Scotti' dans l'Europe continentale* (Vol. IX, p. 21-37 and 255-277), and I made use of this paper when writing Chapter v of my *Chrétientés celtiques* (Paris, 1911).

The second part was first published in the *Revue celtique* under the title: *Les saints irlandais dans les traditions populaires des pays continentaux* (Vol. XXXIX, p. 199-226).[1]

Although this second study was written so lately as 1922, it does not reappear here without having received some slight alterations. As regards the first paper, it has undergone very many changes in the way of remodelling and correcting, as well as by the addition of fresh material, for the author has kept himself in close touch with everything that has been published on the subject since 1908.

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[1] See also the additional notes to that paper in the *Revue celtique* (XXXIX, No. 3, 1923).

Nothing ages more quickly than historical work. The historian who dares, after the lapse of only a few years, to reprint unchanged a former work, is guilty of a carelessness which is not easily reconciled with the critical faculty. Should it ever happen that the writer of these lines ceases to revise and amend his former works, he is willing to be considered as mentally impotent. Heaven grant that that day is still far distant!

I have to thank my devoted translator, Mr. Victor Collins, who at his own desire undertook this delicate work. To me it is particularly agreeable to have my work and name associated with those of a friend with whom I had the good fortune to explore, in 1912, some of the most remarkable ruins of Ireland, from the Rock of Cashel to those of far-famed Clonmacnois.

My gratitude is no less great to Father Augustine, O.S.F.C. for having written, at Mr. Collins's request, a very striking preface for this volume.

In their distant wanderings the tireless pioneers, whose footprints and history we have

sought to recover and to tell, ever bore in their hearts a tender love to their "green isle," to the "sweet earth of their native land," [1] even as do, in our own day, the unnumbered exiles of the Irish *diaspora*, who are spread over the wide surface of the globe. These early pioneers of the Christian name laboured so energetically amid the nations, many of whom were barbarous, in whose lands they were dispersed, that they have left behind them a very deep and lasting impression. Indeed, the Germany of the middle ages, to honour these heroes, outlined of them an epic which comes within the cycle of Charles the Great; [2] and to this day the memory of the saints of Ireland still lives in the lands that are watered by the Marne, the Meuse, the Rhine and the Danube.

God grant that the Gaels of to-day—the Gaels of the motherland and those of the *diaspora*, whose hearts are now wrung with bitter agony—

---

[1] "*Dulce solum natalis patriae . . . et virides terras,*" writes the Irish author of *Vita B. Mariani Ratisponensis* (I, 6: *Boll.* Febr., II, 366)

[2] I allude to the legend on the *Scotti* of Ratisbon published by A. DÜRWÄCHTER (*Die Gesta Caroli Magni der Regensburger Schottenlegende*, Bonn, 1897).

may draw both example and hope from their glorious national history.

A Breton poet of our time, who by some has been given rank with the most illustrious poets of Christianity, though killed in the great war, 10th April, 1917, in the very bloom of youth, Jean-Pierre Calloc'h, has sung the destiny of our race—for the Breton race is of kin to the Gaelic race of Ireland—in one of his most beautiful poems (*Men Gouen*).

Listen then, Gaels of Éire, to what young Calloc'h wrote :

" To-day, I well know, you are the despised of all
After being, O Celtic race, the light of Europe.
To-day, like the sun, you have sunk in the West ;
But when Morning breaks, you will rise with him again."[1]

L. G.

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[1] J. P. CALLOC'H, *A genoux, lais bretons* with a French translation by M. P. MOCAËR (Paris, 1921), p. 67. On this book, see J. VENDRYES in *Revue celtique*, XXXIX, 1922, p. 94 s.

PREFACE

THIS valuable contribution to the fame of Ireland has for me a special charm which amounts almost to a fascination. Over much of the ground it covers I travelled a few times within the last eight-and-twenty years, in France, Austria, Germany and Switzerland, and, from books and friends, I gathered some of the important information that its pages enshrine. More than three and a half years of my life I have spent in the last-named beautiful country on the borders of the Canton which bears the distinguished name of St. Gall, in dioceses where his name and that of his master are still held in the deepest veneration, and but a short distance from the celebrated monastery that was once "the intellectual centre of the German world." At the present moment I write within easy reach of a few of the most remarkable foundations of Irish missionaries, and, therefore, the reading of this book has vividly brought back the bright and happy days of a Past in which we may justly take a holy

pride and from which we can draw abundant inspiration to glorify the Future of our country.

The thoughtful know that in all the great things of life it is the value and not the bulk of the work that counts, and the chief value of the present study consists in the fact that it contains nothing which is not substantiated by texts whose authenticity and truth have been established by the most searching criticism. The scholarly and erudite author has carefully kept his imagination under control, and, unlike some others who have travelled over the same regions, he indulges in no praise that is not warranted by the indisputable testimony of the past. That he loves the land which produced the great personalities of whom he writes is evident from almost every page, but not even to minister to this feeling in himself or in others, does he advance as much as one statement which is not supported by the most unquestionable authority.

In the documents which he has cited there is a sufficiency of beautiful things about Ireland, her saints and scholars, her monks and nuns, her bishops and missionaries, her confessors and martyrs, and on these he relies to establish the

ancient greatness and glory of our country abroad. To these documents he closely adheres with the unerring instinct of the genuine historian, and not for one moment does he allow himself to be led away by that subjectivity which but too often gives us poetic effusions for historical facts. Even in the second part which deals with the religious folklore that has gathered round the names of our Irish missionaries, legend, while receiving its rightful value, is left severely in its proper place and never allowed to usurp the throne of regal truth. Not fancies but facts is the motto of the author, and these with eloquent tongues trumpet the fame of Ireland over many lands for close upon four hundred fruitful years.

The amount of matter packed into this short book makes one wonder, and it is matter which throws a flood of light on many important points not always known to those with great pretensions to learning. More than a dozen years ago, in the very heart of the city of Vienna, I met a few highly educated gentlemen who thought that the famous " Schottenkloster " in their midst was originally founded by the Scotch. In the pages before us we are accurately in-

formed regarding the true meaning of " Scotti " and " peregrini," the rise and fall of the " hospitalia et monasteria Scottorum," the mental culture of ancient Ireland, and academic and literary work of the early emigrants, the " scriptura scottica " of the late middle ages, the knowledge of Greek possessed by such distinguished men as Sedulius Scottus and John Scottus Erigena, the blending of the Rules of St. Columban and St. Benedict in the same monasteries, the itinerary of Irish pioneer travellers, the currents of life they set in motion, the widespread influence they exercised, and the unique place they still occupy in the cherished traditions of foreign peoples.

These and many other matters will captivate the attention of the intelligent general reader; but the delightful charm of this valuable work is that it flings the Past upon the screen in a clear, concentrated light, and we seem to see these Irish confessors of the Faith go forth, sometimes indeed singly, but generally in small bands or in groups of twelve, following no fixed plan, but, in the fullness of their trust, leaving themselves to the guidance of the Spirit of God. They usually wore a tunic of undyed wool to

which was attached a capuce, like the habit that was afterwards adopted by the 'sweet St. Francis of Assisi'; and their luggage was confined to little more than a stout walking-stick, a leathern water-bottle slung to the shoulder, and a wallet or satchel containing a few choice books and some relics of the saints.

They were men who thirsted for the immolation of self, who were drawn by the lure of sacrifice and whose longing to spread the Kingdom of Christ it would be impossible to express in words. Christ had set their hearts on fire, and even to-day, after the lapse of so many centuries, our souls burn within us when we read the brief phrases that embody the great motive which led to the wanderings of these saintly exiles who shed such lustre on our country. These are, it is true, varied in form, but are generally crystallised in such words as "for the love of God," "for Christ," "for the Name of the Lord," and "for the love of the Name of Christ." Like the gentle Poverello whose life and Rule has much in common with theirs, and whose devotion led him centuries later to the shrine of Columbanus at Bobbio, they were indeed "of Christ enamoured wholly" and had

in full and bounteous measure that personal affection which is such a sad want of the present age, but which lit up their hearts with the white heat of a great passion that no sacrifice could satiate and no suffering subdue.

Their courage in facing dangers, their patience in overcoming difficulties, their glowing ardour in attacking vice, their reckless daring in preaching the word "in season and out of season" can be explained in no other way, and make it quite easy for us to imagine that the burning expressions of St. Paul were for ever sounding in their ears: "Christ loved me and delivered himself to me." "To me to live is Christ and to die is gain." "I live now, no, not I, but Christ liveth in me." "If any man love not our Lord Jesus Christ let him be anathema." They yearned to win all to Christ, "to restore all things in Christ," and, therefore, fearing nothing, o'er land and sea, in poverty and hunger, 'mid snow and ice they bore the "glad tidings of great joy," and were sufficiently rewarded when they saw the darkness of Paganism receding before the light of Christianity and the neglected garden of God bloom again like the rose. They planted life where they found death;

they raised the souls of men to higher things, robing them with divine virtue, "as a bride adorned with her jewels," and kindling them into the imperishable beauty of Him Who is the Son of God, "full of grace and truth."

This apostolic zeal is splendid evidence of that strong monastic spirit which characterised the fervent days of Ireland's golden prime. But though this monastic spirit is gone, the missionary spirit still remains and has given proof of its vitality in the divine chivalry with which the consecrated descendants of heroes and martyrs, following the track of Irish emigrants, have planted the Cross of Christ wherever was raised the flag of that Empire which had cruelly driven these men and women forth. This grand display of zeal led to fresh conquests for the Church of God, but in our own day it has been eclipsed by the splendid enthusiasm that has smitten men of brilliant minds and generous hearts, and impelled them, with an imperious urgency, to devote their lives to the conversion of China. It seems as if the still potent spirits of those commemorated in these pages had spoken to such souls, stirring them with their own desire, thrilling them with their own pas-

sion, and enduing them with a divine frenzy for the accomplishment of that great sacrificial act which renounces the joys of home, and gladly accepts the exile's hungry heart, in order to spread the knowledge and love of Christ in a far-off Pagan land.

In the designs of the good God, the magic of whose Name fired the hearts of our old missionaries, the publication of this precious volume, rendered into excellent English by a capable pen, may serve as a strong appeal to the divinely appointed watchmen on the towers of Israel, to revive at home devotion to the founders and teachers of the great monastic schools who once flung glory round our country and made it an island of saints whom we have strangely forgotten. It may also inspire some to follow in the footprints of these ancient Scotti across the European Continent, to make themselves conversant with every phase of their apostolic journeys, and to study closely the lives of "men of renown" whose names still linger in benediction on the lips of the people. But even much better will it be if it helps to increase in college and seminary, in convent and monastery, that genuine sanctity which is absolutely neces-

sary for the achievement of any great spiritual work; to foster the intensive culture of all that is noble in the history of our race at home and abroad; and to raise aloft once more the sublime ideals that have ceased to burn with their wonted brightness, but which we shall sorely need, in the trying days before us, to keep alive in our own hearts and in the hearts of others, a deep and passionate loyalty to the old land and the old Faith.

AN T-ATAIR AUGUSTIN, O.S.F.C.

DAVOS DORF,
Feast of St. Michael, 1922.

FIRST PART

THE WORK OF THE MISSIONARIES MONKS AND OTHER IRISH *PEREGRINI* ON THE CONTINENT

I.—St. Columban, St. Gall and their Disciples

THE first islanders who crossed the sea from religious motives were Britons. They chiefly attracted attention on account of their heterodoxy. The earliest of them in date, Pelagius, arrived in Rome at the latest during the pontificate of Anastasius (398–401).[1] But it was only after some years spent in Italy that he began to preach his heresy. It found easy acceptance in his native land thanks to one Agricola, the son of a Pelagian Bishop.[2] The British bishop Fastidius, who was wandering about Sicily and at Rome between 413 and 418, was also tinctured with the views of Pelagius.[3] Finally, Faustus of Riez, whose doctrines smacked now of Semi-Pelagianism and then again of some kind of

[1] MARIUS MERCATOR, *Liber subnotationum in verba Juliani, Praefatio*, 2 (MIGNE, PL, XLVIII, 111).

[2] PROSPER OF AQUITAINE, *Chronicon*, ed. MOMMSEN (MG, *Auct. Antiq.*, IX, *Chron. Minora*, I, p. 472).

[3] D. G. MORIN, *Le De Vita Christiana de l'évêque breton Fastidius et le livre de Pélage ad Viduam* (*Revue Bénédictine*, XV, 1898, p. 481 s.).

diluted Novatianism, is also known to have been a native of Great Britain.[1]

While these theologians were straying, one of their unknown countrymen, whom God had secretly called for an immense work, was pursuing his priestly education under the guidance of Gaulish bishops and monks. This man sought only to learn the art of planting in the souls of men the divine word and causing it to flourish there. In 432, St. Patrick returned, clad in episcopal dignity, to that Ireland where once as a captive slave he had guarded his master's sheep.[2]

The island once converted made rapid progress in the faith. In the fifth and sixth centuries churches and monasteries multiplied on its soil; holiness so flourished there that soon it deserved the name of the island of

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[1] The Voyages of the Irish saints Ibar, Ciaran, Declan, and Abban to Rome (*Acta Sanct. Hiberniae ex cod. Salm.*, col. 237, 242, 243; 806; 415, 512; 412; 516) at the end of the fourth century, seem to us to be legendary, as also the stay of St. Gibrianus and his companions in Champagne in the time of St. Remigius of Rheims (*Boll.*, ed. of 1866, May, II, 298).

[2] J. B. Bury, *The Life of Saint Patrick and his Place in History*, London, 1905, p. 336 s.

saints.[1] The converts of yesterday dreamed of becoming apostles in their turn; the zealous monks aspired to carry beyond the seas their ascetic rule of life. We do not think it is necessary to imagine other reasons than these in order to account for the tendency to emigrate which began to manifest itself among the Irish as early as the sixth century.[2]

Later, under the Carolingians, numerous learned men, artists, and pilgrims flocked from the isles to the continent; but the travellers who landed in Gaul, in the Merovingian period, and spread themselves over the neighbouring countries, were almost solely dominated by ideas of asceticism and apostleship. For the greater part monks, voluntary exile appealed to them as the supreme immolation, and as being specially adapted to perfect the act of renunciation they had undertaken. To leave his native land "for the love of God,"

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[1] Cf. L. Gougaud, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, Paris, 1911, ch. III.

[2] J. Bollandus, *De B. Mariano Scoto et B. Murcherato commentarius praevius* (*Boll.*, ed. of 1865, February, II, p. 361-362).

" for the name of the Lord," " for the love of the name of Christ," " for the welfare of his soul," " to gain the heavenly fatherland," such are the phrases, varied in form but the same in meaning, employed by the biographers of these saintly travellers as being best suited to describe the motive for their wanderings.[1]

These wanderers called themselves *peregrini*, which we must beware of translating generally by the word " pilgrims."[2] For the real pilgrim betakes himself to the sanctuary which is

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[1] PEREGRINATIO PRO DEI AMORE: VITA WALARICI, c. 4 (MG, *Script. Rer. Merov.* IV, 162); *Vita Galli, auct. Walahfrido*, I, 30 (MIGNE, PL, CXIV, 1004). PEREGRINATIO PROPTER NOMEN DOMINI: *Vita Kadroe*, c. 19 (MABILLON, *Acta Sanct.* O.S.B., 5° saec., 494). OB AMOREM, PRO AMORE, PRO NOMINE CHRISTI: ALCUIN, *Epigr.*, 231 on Virgil of Salzburg (MABILLON, *Acta Sanct.* O.S.B., 3° *saec.*, pars 2, 309); ALCUIN, *Epist.* 287 (MG, *Epist.*, IV, 446); *Vita S. Vadoali* (MABILLON, *ibid.* 4° *saec.*, pars 2, 545); *Vita Burchardi* (M.G, *Script.*, XV, p. 52); *Passio S. Cholomanni* (MG, *Script.*, IV, 675). PRO CHRISTO: ADAMNAN, *Vita Columbae, Praefatio*, ed. FOWLER, 5-6. PRO REMEDIO ANIMAE: *Chronic. abbat. S. Martini Colon.* (MG, *Script.* II, 215); PRO ADIPISCENDA IN CAELIS PATRIA: BEDE, *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 9 (PL, XCV, 241). PRO AETERNA PATRIA: BEDE, *Hist. Eccl.*, III, 13 (PL, *l.c.*, col. 137); BEDE, V, 9 (*l.c.*, col. 243); *Vita Mariani Scoti*, c. I (*Boll.*, February, II, 865).

[2] *Boll.*, February, I, 356-357, 359.

the aim of his special devotion; then, his pious journey over, he returns to his own land and resumes his usual life. Doubtless there were such pilgrims among the Irish, and even more among the Anglo-Saxons, who swarmed over the roads of Europe, especially from the eighth century; but the earlier "peregrini" were not, properly speaking, pilgrims. In a far fuller sense they were voluntary exiles, men who by a religious vow, more or less explicit, sometimes taken in childhood, with or without the additional undertaking of apostleship, forbade themselves for a prolonged period or even, as was generally the case, for their whole life, a return to their native land. For this reason the writers of their lives often compare them to Abraham. One might imagine they had all heard the voice bidding the patriarch: "*Egredere de terra tua et de cognatione tua.*"[1]

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[1] JONAS, *Vita Columbani*, I, 4 (MG, *Script. Rer. Merov.* IV, 10).—*Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*), ed. WHITLEY STOKES, 1890, 586, 2740, and 4484.—*Boll.*, October, IX, (*Vita S. Donati epis. Fesulani*, c. I, 656).—*Vita Altonis*, c. 2 (MG, *Script.* XV, 2, 843). MABILLON, *Acta Sanct.* O.S.B., 5° *saec.*, *Vita Kadroe*, c. 15, 493.

The great originator of these early monastic and apostolic migrations was St. Columban.[1] He left Ireland with twelve companions, without any fixed design, his one idea being to go far from his homeland, spreading the Gospel as he journeyed onward among strange peoples.[2] He reached Burgundy about 590. There in succession he founded the monasteries of Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines. It was not long before Luxeuil, from the novelty of its rule and the zeal of its founder, powerfully attracted the inhabitants. Indeed, the rule of St. Columban became the object of such veneration that, towards the middle of the seventh century, many of the Gaulish cloisters adopted it conjointly with that of St. Benedict.[3] We

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[1] On St. Columban, see E. MARTIN, *Saint Columban*, Paris, 1905; G. METLAKE [J. J. LAUX], *The Life and Writings of St. Columban*, Philadelphia, 1914. A German edition of the same was published at Freiburg i. Br. in 1919. See also L. GOUGAUD, *Chrét. celt.*, p. 145 s.

[2] JONAS, *Vita Columbani*, I, 4, 5 (MG. *Scrip. rer. Merov.*, IV, 71).

[3] "Hujus [Waldeberti] tempore per Galliarum provincias agmina monachorum et sacrarum puellarum examina non solum per agros, villas, vicosque atque castella, verum etiam per eremi vastitatem ex regula dumtaxat beatorum patrum Benedicti et Columbani

do not think that there exists in the annals of monasticism another example of such a combination of rules, which, moreover, are so different in tendency and character.[1]

Driven from Burgundy by Brunehaut in 610, Columban resumed his wanderings. They were not barren. His blessing given to the child of some nobleman who had hospitably entertained the saint often gave birth to a religious vocation, which, when it had reached maturity, usually led to the building of a new monastery.[2] Indeed it may truly be said that, in order to take stock of the progress of monasticism in Gaul in the seventh century, it is only necessary to follow the footsteps of the saint. The monasteries in the Brie country,

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pullulare coeperunt." (*Vita Salabergae*, 7; MABILLON, *Acta Sanct.* O.S.B., 2° *saec.*, 425). Cf. A. HAUCK, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, Leipzig, 1904, I, 297.

[1] See nevertheless on the rules of Cassian, Basil, and other abbots in use at Saint-Yricix (Monasterium Atanense) in Limousin, GREGORY OF TOURS, *Hist. Franc.* X, 29 (P.L, LXXI, 510).

[2] G. BONET-MAURY, *S. Colomban et la fondation des monastères irlandais en Brie au viie siècle* (*Revue historique*, LXXXIII, 1903, 285). This paper has been summarised in the *Atti del Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, Rome, VII, 1905, 123-129.

Faremoutiers (627),[1] Jouarre (630),[2] Rebais (636)[3] owe their origin to his disciples or friends. Later on the Irish remembered this. From the *Vita Agili* we learn that they were accustomed to stop at Rebais when on their way to Rome. In that halting-place they were wont to rest and leave such members of their party as were spent by the fatigues of the journey.[4]

Faro († c. 672), the brother of St. Burgondofara or Fara, foundress of Faremoutiers, whom St. Columban had blessed in her girlhood, when

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[1] Faremoutiers (*Evoriacum*), canton of Rozoy, Seine-et-Marne; cf. HAUCK, *op. cit.*, 296.—M. BONET-MAURY writes: "There were seen arriving at Faremoutiers noble young girls of Ireland and of Great Britain." (*Op. cit.*, 287). BEDE (*Hist. Eccl.*, III, 8) speaks only of Anglo-Saxon women who frequented this monastery and that of Chelles (Cala): "Nam eo tempore, necdum multis in regione Anglorum monasteriis constructis, multi de Brittania, monachicae conversationis gratia, Francorum vel Galliarum monasteria adire solebant; sed et filias suas eisdem erudiendas, ac sponso caelesti copulandas mittebant; maxime in Brige et in Cale, et in Andilegum monasterio. . ." (PL, XCV, 128; ed. C. PLUMMER, I, 142).

[2] Jouarre (*Jotrum*), cant. of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, Seine-et-Marne; cf. HAUCK, *op. cit.*, I, 290.

[3] Rebais (*Mon. Resbacense*), cant. of Coulommiers, Seine-et-Marne.

[4] *Vita S. Agili*, c. 24 (MABILLON, *Acta Sanct.* O.S.B., 2° *saec.*, 324).

he became bishop of Meaux, was equally hospitable to Irish travellers. At his suggestion two of them settled permanently in Gaul, St. Kilian at Aubigny, near Arras, and St. Fiacre in the hermitage of Broilum, in the neighbourhood of Meaux.[1]

The foundations in Alsace, Switzerland, and Italy which are connected with the wanderings of St. Columban and his disciples in those countries are particularly well known.[2] In later centuries Saint-Gall and Bobbio were diligently frequented by the *Scotti*. We find, in the eleventh century, the Irish bishop Mark, returning from Rome, leaving by will his books to the library of Saint-Gall, in which monastery his nephew Marcellus, or Moengal, was then living,[3] while another Irishman called Eusebius had taken up his abode close by in the solitude of Mount Saint-Victor where he dwelt for thirty years.[4] A necrology, furthermore, has pre-

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[1] *Vita Fiacrii*, c. I (*Boll.*, August, VI, 605). *Broilum*, or Breuil, is now the village of Saint-Fiacre, Canton of Crécy, Seine-et-Marne.

[2] E. MARTIN, *S. Colomban*, Book II, c. 2 and 3.

[3] EKKEHARD IV, *Casus S. Galli* (MG. *Script.* II, 78 s.).

[4] RATPERT, *Casus S. Galli* (*ibid.*, 73).

served for us the names of several Irishmen who died at Saint-Gall.[1] In like manner at Bobbio, in the eighth and tenth centuries, we find a Cummian, a Dungal, and other monks with Irish names.[2]

The personal influence exerted in Gaul by St. Columban was great. After his death, his views about the exemption of monasteries,[3] on penance and confession,[4] and, above all, his monastic rule continued to be propagated thanks to the zeal of his numerous immediate disciples

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[1] See a note of I. von Arx, editor of the *Casus S. Galli*, *op. cit.*, p. 78, and the verses in the MS. Nr. 10 of Saint-Gall (F. KELLER, *Mittheilungen der antiq. Gesellschaft in Zürich*, VII, 1851).

[2] Cf. MARG. STOKES, *Six months in the Apennines in search of the Vestiges of the Irish Saints in Italy*, London, 1892.

[3] CH. FRED. WEISS, *Die kirchlichen Exemtionen der Klöster von ihren Entstehung bis zur gregorianisch-cluniacensischen Zeit*, Basel, 1893. Chapter 2 is entirely devoted to the influence of the Iro-Scotish missionaries on the development of monastic liberties.—A. HUEFNER, *Das Rechtsinstitut der klösterlichen Exemtion in der abendlandischen Kirche, etc. . .* (*Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht* LXXXVI, 1906, 208 s.).

[4] A MALNORY, *Quid Luxovienses monachi . . . ad regulam monasteriorum atque ad communem Ecclesiae profectum contulerint*, Parisiis, 1894, 62-80.—E. VACANDARD, *Le pouvoir des clefs et la confession* (*Revue du clergé français*, 1899, 147 s.).

and those who came after them. Very many of the most influential persons of the time, notably those courtiers who, with remarkable unanimity, forsook the court for the cloister or the episcopate, Dado, Faro, Eligius, Wandrille, Filibert, appear to have especially appreciated the ascetic system of Luxeuil, and to have worked for its diffusion.

St. Wandrille, having resigned his dignity of count, devoted himself in solitude to those practices of prayer and austerity (reciting the whole of the psalter, genuflections, standing in icy cold water) which vividly recall the mortifications of the monks of Ireland. It has been said: "Probably the remembrance of Columban haunted the mind of Wandrille."[1] In effect, he dwelt some time near the tomb of St. Ursin, a disciple of St. Columban; then he went to Bobbio, and he even formed the design of crossing to Ireland.

The future Abbot of Jumièges, St. Filibert, appears to have been moved by the same haunting influence. He starts at Rebais by

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[1] E. VACANDARD, *Vie de S. Ouen, évêque de Rouen*, Paris, 1902, p. 164.

following the Columban rule, then goes to Luxeuil and Bobbio, and finally dedicates to St. Columban one of the altars of Jumièges. Let us take note that among his disciples St. Filibert included an Irishman, Sidonius or St. Saëns, who was cellarer at Noirmoutier and later became abbot of a monastery in the valley of the Varenne.[1]

St. Eligius, while still a layman, built the monastery of Solignac which, following the Scottic custom, he caused to be freed from episcopal jurisdiction—a remarkable innovation at that time—and had it placed under the rule of the Abbot of Luxeuil.[2] The foundation charter, following the custom of the day, established as the religious law the double rule of St. Benedict and of St. Columban. Two former officials of the court of Clotaire II and of Dagobert I were in direct touch with the *Scotti*: St. Cyran, future Abbot of Longrey, in the Berry, whose conversion was partly due to a meeting with the Irish bishop Flavinus,[3] and Didier of Cahors, whose friendship for a

[1] E. VACANDARD, *op. cit.*, p. 245.
[2] HAUCK, *op. cit.*, p. 291 s.
[3] *Vita Sigranni*, c. 8, 9 (MABILLON, 2° *saec.*, p. 435).

certain Scot called Arnanus has been thought worthy of record by his biographer.[1]

If we are to believe Dr. Bruno Krusch, Mommelin, the successor of St. Eligius in the see of Noyon, would appear to have adopted even the Celtic tonsure.[2] Mommelin came from Luxeuil, as did St. Valery of Leuconoë who had known St. Columban. From the same place came also St. Omer and St. Bertin, disciples of Eustasius, Columban's successor.

It was through these missionary monks that Irish monastic traditions were planted in northern Gaul. It was, moreover, from Luxeuil that Bathild, wife of Clovis II (639–657), obtained the first abbot for the abbey of Corbie

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[1] *Vita Desiderii*, ed. Br. Krusch (MG. *Script. rer. Merov.*, IV, 550).

[2] It is the reproduction of a portrait of S. Mommelin, drawn in the twelfth century, which makes him think so (Cf. Br. Krusch, *op. cit.*, p. 641). Fr Poncelet (*Anal. Boll.*, XXII, 1903, p. 109) fancies it is a risky deduction. On the other hand, M. L. Van der Essen (*Etude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique* (Louvain and Paris, 1907, p. 375, n. 3) taking his stand on the explanations subsequently given by Br. Krusch, adopts that critic's point of view.—In addition, see the article *Tonsur* in the *Realencyclopädie f. protest. Theol. u. Kirche*, XIX, 1907, p. 839.

which she had built,[1] and it was from the double monastery of Jouarre that she fetched the first abbess for the nuns of Chelles.[2]

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[1] *Vita Balthildis*, c. 7, ed. Br. Krusch, p. 490.

[2] *Ibid.*, c. 8, p. 492.—In our opinion, the following lines are the most accurate that have been written on the share the Irish took in the development of double monasteries: "Wherever the Apostles of Irish monasticism went, this form of organisation followed—not because it was one which originated with and peculiarly belonged to the Irish—but because it could live only in the purest spiritual atmosphere" (Mary Bateson, *Origin and Early History of double monasteries*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Hist. Soc.*, XIII, 1899, p. 197).

II.—St. Fursa and the 'Peregrini Minores'

THE last-mentioned foundations had not yet been laid when an Irishman, who had for several years already wandered "for the Lord" in Great Britain, came to establish himself on the banks of the Marne at Lagny.[1] This individual was St. Fursa. The relations between Fursa and Clovis II, and with the Mayor of the Palace Erchinoald,[2] by whom Bathild was saved from slavery, permit it to be supposed that the pious queen and the Irish monk were known to one another. Doubtless it was the renown and example of St. Columban and the prosperity of the monastic colonies of the Brie which had drawn Fursa to those parts. His career there was not a long one; he died

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[1] Lagny (*Latiniacum*), arrondis. of Meaux, Seine-et-Marne.—On the chronology of S. Fursa, see the notes of CH. PLUMMER to his edition of the *Eccles. Hist.* of Bede (II, p. 173). Fursa probably arrived in Great Britain after 631, and left for Gaul between 640 and 644.

[2] BEDE, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 19 (PL, XCV, 148-149).

in the village of Macerias, now Frohen,[1] leaving the imagination of his contemporaries struck by the recitals that were made of his wonderful visions.[2] By order of Erchinoald his remains were borne to Péronne between 641 and 652.

Although he did not display an activity comparable with that of St. Columban, nevertheless his name deserves to be put in relief in the tale of Irish migrations, for his tomb was piously visited by his relatives and countrymen who, beside it, founded the first monastery for the exclusive use of the *Scotti* to be found on the continent: *Perrona Scottorum*.[3] At least until 774 the successive abbots were all Irishmen. To Foillan, Fursa's elder brother, who arrived in Gaul before 652,[4] succeeded his younger brother

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[1] Frohen, cant. of Bernaville, Somme.

[2] BEDE, *Eccl. Hist., ibid.* 145 s.

[3] See TRAUBE, *Perrona Scottorum* (*Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und hist. Classe der k. bayer. Akad. der Wissensch. zu München*, 1900, p. 469-538), reprinted in Traube's *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, München, 1920, III, p. 95-118.

[4] Foillan was invited to Belgium by Itta, the mother of St. Gertrude of Nivelles, and she gave him the land on which was raised the monastery of Fosses. Einhard, in

Ultan, and to Ultan succeeded Cellanus (†706), a personage long forgotten, but whom Traube has skilfully restored to the light of day. Perhaps this monastery remained in Irish hands until its destruction by the Northmen in 880. The Four Masters mention, under the year 774, the death of Moenan, *abb. cat(h)rach Fursa isin Frainc* (i.e., *abbas civitatis Fursei in Francia*).[1]

The names are mentioned of several other travelling companions of St. Columban or of St. Fursa, hermits, cenobites, missionaries, who would appear to have spread themselves throughout the north in Merovingian times; for instance, Chaidoc and Fricor, who converted St. Riquier; Algeis, Corbican, Mauguille, Gobain, etc.; but their acts are not trustworthy, and it is hard to make out what they really did.[2]

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the ninth century, calls Fosses "Monasterium Scottorum" (*Translat. SS. Marcellini et Petri*, IX, 86 (*Boll.*, June, I, 198 f.).

[1] *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan, I, p. 378-379.—Cf. Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 482, 488-489.

[2] Margaret Stokes set herself to note down every trace left by these saints in written document, monument, and popular tradition. See *Three Months in the forests of France in search of Vestiges of Irish Saints*, London, 1895.

The Irish had, moreover, penetrated even before the year 800 into many other regions of continental Europe, both near and far distant from these earlier zones of their influence. Already in the seventh century they are to be found disseminated throughout Belgium. Rombault evangelized the people of Mechlin, Livin the people of Ghent, where he was martyred.[1] Celestine became abbot of Saint-Peter of Mount Blandin in Ghent, at the close of the seventh century.[2] In the Argonne, Rodingus founded Beaulieu.[3] Disibod built, between Trèves and Mainz, near the confluence of the Nahe and the Glan, the monastery of Disibodenberg,[4] where, five centuries later, St. Hildegard, the Sybil of the Rhine, was to begin her training for the religious life. St. Kilian carried the Gospel into Franconia, and died at Wurzburg, about

[1] See NICHOLAS VERNULUS, *De propagatione fidei christianae in Belgio per sanctos ex Hibernia viros*, Lovanii, 1639. The memoir on the *Evangélisation de la Gaule Belgique par les missionnaires irlandais*, which appeared in the *Congrès scientifiques de France* (Arras, 1853-1854, II, p. 256 s.), is not very satisfactory.

[2] *Fundatio monast. Blandiniensis* (MG. *Script.* XV, 2, 623).

[3] HAUCK, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

689, a victim to his apostolic zeal.[1] The monasteries of Honau, on an island of the Rhine near Strasburg,[2] and Altomünster, in the diocese of Freising, likewise owe their origin to two Irish monks, Tuban and Alto.[3] Virgil the Geometer, abbot of Aghaboe in Ireland, voluntarily exiled himself "for the love of Christ," and lived in the monastery of Saint Peter at Salzburg of which he became abbot.[4] Virgil had some quarrels with St. Boniface respecting his opinions on baptism[5] and his cosmological theories, which were very far in advance of the

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[1] The acts of St. Kilian have been closely studied by FRANZ EMMERICH (*Der hl. Kilian, Regionarbischof und Martyrer historisch-kritisch dargestellt*, Würzburg, 1896) and by S. RIEZLER *Die Vita Kiliani* (*Neues Archiv*, XXVIII, 1902, p. 232-234). The latter declares that St. Kilian's martyrdom cannot be called in question.

[2] HAUCK, *op. cit.*, p. 305; cf. W. REEVES (*Proceedings of the Roy. Irish Academy*, VI, 1853-1857, p. 452-461). The isle of Honau no longer exists.

[3] *Vita Altonis*, c. 7 (MG. *Script.*, XV, 2, p. 843).—HAUCK, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

[4] The authorship of the book of the confraternities of this abbey is attributed to him. Cf. *Libri confrat.*, p. 27, MG. *Necrologia*, II, p. 6-44. On Virgil see: G. METLAKE, *St. Virgil the Geometre* (*Ecclesiastical Review*, LXIII, 1920, 18 s.).

[5] BONIFACE, *Epist.* 68 (MG, *Epist.*, III, 336).

knowledge of that period.[1] In 745, being still only abbot-priest of Saint Peter, he took over the government of the diocese of Salzburg, the episcopal functions being performed by his fellow-countryman bishop Dobdagrec. It was only in 767 that Virgil himself received episcopal consecration.[2]

Gaul also chose more than one bishop from among these strangers. In 744, Pipin the Short, on the advice of St. Boniface, the reformer of the Christian West, called to the government of the metropolitan church of Rheims the Irish Abel, a choice which Pope Zachary hastened to confirm.[3]

The Celtic islanders penetrated even into the

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[1] BONIFACE, *Ep.* 80.—On this interesting question see: PH. GILBERT, *Le pape Zacharie et les antipodes* (*Rev des quest. scientifiques*, XII, 1882, 478-503; H. KRABBO, *Bischof Virgil u. seine kosmolog. Ideen* (*Mitt. d. Instituts f. Oesterr. Geschichtsforschung*, XXIV, 1-28); M. R. JAMES, in *Cambridge Mediev. History*, III, 513; H. VAN DER LINDEN, *Virgile de Salzbourg et les théories cosmographiques au huitième siècle* (*Bul. de la cl. des lettres de l' Acad. roy. de Belgique* 1914, p. 163-187).

[2] WH. LEVISON, *Die Iren und die Fränkische Kirche* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CI, 1912, 16).

[3] FOLCUIN, *Gesta abb. Lobiensium*, c. 5 s. (MG, *Script.*, IV, 58).—HAUCK, *op. cit.*, p. 543, 567.

regions beyond the Loire. We have already mentioned Arnanus, the friend of St. Didier of Cahors. The bishop of Poitiers, Ansoald, gave shelter to another Irishman called Romanus, who lived at Mazerolles in the bishop's territory.[1] Still more remarkable, the bishopric of Angoulême was twice, and at an interval of two centuries, governed by the *Scotigenae* Tomianus, about 665,[2] and Helias († 875).[3]

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[1] Mazerolles, cant. of Lussac-les-Châteaux, Vienne. See the testament of Ansoald in PARDESSUS, *Diplom.*, II, p. 239. To be consulted: *Nouvelle Rev. d'hist. du droit*, twenty-second year, p. 789 and *Revue celtique*, XX, 1899, p. 106.—Note that it was Dido, Bishop of Poitiers, who, in 656, had led into Ireland the dethroned Dagobert II, (*Liber Hist. Franc.*, IV, 3, ed. KRUSCH, MG, *Script. rer. Merov.*, II, p. 316).

[2] D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, in *Revue celt.*, XX, p. 105-106.

[3] *Ademari Historiarium liber* III (MG, *Script.* IV, 119, 122.—In a sacramentary of the church of Angoulême (B.N. f. lat. 816) dating from the seventh to ninth centuries, one may read a note of the eleventh century on the margin of folio 146: "*Helias scotigena sic faciebat* (L. DELISLE, *Mém. s. d'anc. sacramentaires*, p. 94; reprinted from *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscrip. et Belles-lettres*, XXXII, 1st part, 1886).

III.—Wandering Bishops, Clerics and Monks

OUTSIDE the ranks of these *peregrini*, who had been raised to the episcopate by the esteem of continental ecclesiastical authority, there moved through Germany and Gaul a good number of *episcopi vagantes*, already invested with the episcopal dignity before leaving their own country, or at least pretending that such was the case, but who, never having been wedded to a diocese,[1] ceaselessly wandered about, exercising the functions which they held by right of consecration, without authority from any ordinary, and disturbing consciences, not yet well confirmed in the faith, by all kinds of hazardous or heretical dis-

[1] Prof. J. B. Bury has proved that diocesan bishops existed in Ireland from the time of St. Patrick (Cf. *Saint-Patrick*, p. 180 and 375 s.); but, side by side with the *episcopi paruchiales*, there were monastic bishops; each important monastery possessed its own bishop (it thus more easily freed itself from diocesan jurisdiction). Monasteries rapidly increasing, it followed that bishops increased also "like flies" (*op. cit.*, p. 181).

courses.[1] St. Boniface, in the course of his missions, met more than one adventurer of this type whom he did not hesitate to have condemned by the councils and the Holy See.[2] Such was bishop Clemens, *genere Scottus*, who, on his own account, rejected clerical celibacy, the treatises of Saints Jerome, Augustine and Gregory, and the laws of the councils, inculcated Judaic practices to the Austrasian peoples, and taught that Christ descending into hell released all those who were there confined, both good and bad.[3] Such another was one Samson who taught the uselessness of baptism for salvation.[4]

In order to put a stop to these disturbers, the first Germanic general council, held in April 742 at St. Boniface's instigation, but in what place is not known, began by decreeing that unknown bishops and priests should not be

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[1] Consult on the *episcopi vagantes*: BRUNO KRUSCH, in *Neues Archiv* (XXV, p. 138 s.) and his prefaces in the *Script. rer. Merov.*, IV, p. 648-649, 691 s.

[2] G. KURTH, *S. Boniface*, p. 98 s.

[3] BONIF., *Ep.* 57, 59, 60.—G. KURTH, *op. cit.*, p. 88 s.; HAUCK, *op. cit.*, p. 557.

[4] BONIF., *Ep.*, 80. Cf. G. KURTH, p. 146.

allowed to exercise the sacred ministry until they had been examined in council.[1] The Council of Soissons (744) further enacted that the said strolling bishops and priests should obtain the approval of the bishop of the diocese.[2] The Councils of Ver (755),[3] of Mainz (813),[4] and of Tours (813) [5] issued still further edicts against them. The twenty-second canon of Mainz describes these nomads as "*acephali . . . hippocentauris similes, nec equi nec homines*" and threatens them with excommunication and prison.

Although the Irish are not mentioned in these texts, there can be no doubt that it is against them they are principally aimed.[6] Moreover, the forty-third canon of the second Council of Chalon-sur-Saône (813) expressly names them: "There are in certain places

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[1] Conc. Germanicum, can. 4 (Mansi, XII, 367).

[2] Conc. Suessionense, can. 5. Cf. E. Vykoukal, *Les examens du clergé paroissial à l'époque carolingienne* (*Rev. d'hist. eccl.*, XIV, 1913, 84-85).

[3] Conc. Vernense, can. 13 (Mansi, XII, 583).

[4] Conc. Moguntiacum, can. 22 (Mansi, XIV, 71).

[5] Conc. Turonense III, can. 13 (Mansi, *ibid.*, 85).

[6] Edm. Bishop, *Spanish Symptoms* (*Journal of Theological Studies*, VIII, 1907, p. 285).

Scotti who pass themselves off as bishops and confer sacred orders; these ordinations are void, and all the more so since frequently they are tainted by simony." [1] A capitulary, dated September 813, which recapitulates all the measures taken by preceding councils, bids every bishop to investigate if there be not some of these foreign clerics in his diocese, in

[1] CONC. CABILONENSE II, can. 48 (MANSI, XIV, 102).—The synod of Celchyth (Chelsea ?) held on 27 July, 816, excluded by name also the Scotti from sacred functions, and pronounced against them a still more vigorous ostracism: "*Quinto interdictum est: ut nullus permittatur de genere Scotorum in alicujus dioecesi sacrum sibi ministerium usurpare, neque ei consentire liceat ex sacro ordine aliquot attingere, vel ab eis accipere in baptismo, aut in celebratione missarum, vel etiam Eucharistiam populo praebere, quia incertum est nobis, unde, et an ab aliquo ordinentur. Scimus quomodo in canonibus praecipitur, ut nullus episcoporum vel presbyterorum invadere temptaverit alius parochiam, nisi cum consensu proprie (sic) episcopi. Tanto magis respuendum est ab alienis nationibus sacra ministeria percipere, cum quibus nullus ordo metropolitanis, nec honor aliis habeatur*" (Can. 5: HADDAM and STUBBS, *Councils*, III, 581). Irish pseudo-bishops were still present in England in the last quarter of the twelfth century, as is proved from the following passage which occurs in a letter written, about 1178, by Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, to his suffragans: "*Sunt et diebus istis quidam pseudoepiscopi Hibernienses, aut scoticae linguae simulantes barbariem, cum a nullo impositionem manus acceperint, episcopalia populis administrant, etc.*" (PL., CCVII, 160).

which case he must send them home.[1] Charles the Great, himself, had ordered the expulsion of an Irish priest about 795. The priest in question had caused scandal in the diocese of Cologne by eating meat in Lent. But, inasmuch as it had not been possible to try the culprit on the spot, for want of sufficient evidence, the future emperor took the course of sending him to Offa, King of Mercia, who was invited to undertake to forward him to Ireland in order that he might be tried by his own bishop.[2]

Just as much as Charles showed himself severe to foreigners whose conduct was blameworthy did he endeavour to protect those who from praiseworthy motives moved about or settled in his dominions. The Scottic monks of Honau having been deprived of a part of their property, Charles compelled the plunderers to restore without delay all they had seized; for the damage is done to the king when those under his protection are hurt (*quia res peregrinorum proprie sunt regis*), and he adds in the

[1] *Capitul. Aquisgranense, Excerpta, Canon.*, 23 (PL, XCVII, 864; MG, *Capitul.*, I, 174).

[2] *Ep.* 12 (MG, *Epist.*, IV, 181).

same decree, dated 772-774: "*Si quis eorum hoc non fecerit, recognoscat se regis praeceptum non obaudire: quia reges Francorum libertatem dederunt omnibus peregrinis Scotorum, ut nullus rapiat aliquid de rebus eorum, nec ulla generatio praeter eorum generationem possideat ecclesias eorum.*" [1] Einhard, his biographer, tells us that he loved the *peregrini*, and welcomed them with such kindness that soon their numbers encumbered the palace, and even became a tax on the country.[2] It is certain that to the influence of the emperor is due the sixth canon of the Council of Tours, in 813, which compels bishops to receive at their table foreigners and the poor.[3] In the writings of the period can be detected traces of weariness, perhaps even of jealousy, felt by his subjects for the marked favour the monarch showed these strangers.[4]

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[1] MG, *Diplom. Karoli* I, ed E. MULBACHER, 1906, Nr. 77, p. 111.

[2] "*Amabat peregrinos et in eis suscipiendis magnam habebat curam, adeo ut plerumque eorum multitudo non solum palatio, verum etiam regno non inmerito videretur onerosa*" (EINHARD, *Vita Karoli Magni*, 21; MG, *Script.*, II, 455).

[3] CONC. TURONENSE III, can. 6 (MANSI, XIV, 84).

[4] EINHARD, *Vita Kar.*, *loc. cit.*—"*Venit iste Britto vel Scoto (sic) ad illum alterum Brittonem, qui intus iacet. O*

To protect the missionaries, monks, and earnest pilgrims, and to attract men of learning, such appears to have been the twofold design of Charles and his successors in their regard.

Deus, libera istud monasterium de istis Brittonibus; nam, sicut apes undique ad matrem revertuntur, ita hi omnes ad istum veniunt." (*Vita Alcuini*, 18; MG, *Script.*, XV, I, 193).—ALCUIN, *Ep.* 82 (PL, C, 266).

IV.—Pilgrims and Sham Pilgrims

THE close ties uniting the Carolingian dynasty with the Holy See resulted in making easier and popular the pilgrimage to Rome. Although the insular *peregrini* were far from being pilgrims in the ordinary sense of that word, as we have already pointed out, nevertheless there were not wanting among them persons whose movements were governed, either from the very start or by chance, by a desire to visit some particular shrine. We know that Saint-Gall, Bobbio and Péronne, after the death of their founders, attracted many of their countrymen.

Cadroë, in the tenth century, began his wanderings by a visit to the tomb of St. Fursa.[1] Marianus Scottus elected to be ordained priest in the basilica of St. Kilian at Wurzburg.[2] But naturally it was the *limina Apostolorum* which formed the greatest attraction to the pious fancies of the inhabitants of the isles. It is

[1] *Vita Kadroe*, 19 (*Boll.*, I, p. 476).

[2] MAR. SCOT., *Chronicon*, ad an. 1081 [MLIX] (PL, CXLVII, 786).

related that St. Molua, who died about 609, wishing to perform a pilgrimage to the tomb of the Apostles, came to ask leave of absence from his master, St. Moedoc. When the latter urged the difficulties in the way, the applicant appears to have forcibly expressed the warmth of his desire in the words: "*Nisi videro Romam, cito moriar.*" [1] Thus Rome was frequently visited by Irish pilgrims;[2] but their neighbours, the Anglo-Saxons, showed even still greater eagerness to enter the Eternal City. It is surprising to note with what enthusiasm and in what numbers English kings, priests, nuns and monks carried out this long pilgrimage.[3]

The letters of St. Boniface and of the Emperor Charles give instructive details as to the habits of pilgrims and sham pilgrims in their day. It would happen that traders would join

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[1] *Acta Sanct. Hib. ex cod. Salm.*, col. 480.

[2] *Vita Agili*, 24 (MABILLON, 2° *saec.*, p. 324); *Vita Kiliani*, 3 (*ibid.*, p. 992); *Vita Findani*, c. 7.

[3] It was considered worthy of record in the chronicles if a year passed without communication between England and Rome (W.D.D. CUNNINGHAM, *The Growth of English industry and commerce during the early and middle ages*, Cambridge, 1905, I, p. 85).

the pious bands in order to benefit by the exemption from tolls granted to pilgrims ;[1] but this was not the worst offence committed. The Apostle of Germany, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, implores him to restrain his flock, and nuns in particular, from an immoderate passion for pilgrimages. He points out the drawbacks ; he even calls attention to the grave disorders so-called pilgrims of the weaker sex had committed in many of the cities of France and Italy.[2] Furthermore a council in 813 disapproved of pilgrimages to Tours and Rome undertaken by clerics or laymen for superstitious or profane reasons.[3] Doubtless it was the experience of the material and moral dangers incurred on pilgrimages that inspired those verses tinged with sadness which an Irish hand has traced on a MS. folio of the ninth century : " To go to Rome, much labour, little profit : the King whom thou seekest there, unless thou bring him with thee, thou findest him not. Much folly, much frenzy, much loss

[1] CAROL. M., *Ep.* 7 (PL, XCVIII, 907).—Cf. Conc. Mogunt. 753, c. b (MANSI, XII, 572).

[2] MG, *Epist.*, III, 354 s.

[3] CONC. CABIL. II, c. 45 (MANSI, XIV, 102-103).

of sense, much madness [is it], since going to death is certain, to be under the displeasure of Mary's Son." [1]

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[1] The two quatrains in old Irish are in the *Codex Boernerianus* (A, 145, 6) of the Library of Dresden, containing the epistles of St. Paul in Greek with the Latin interlined, a MS. written by an Irish scribe of the ninth century. These verses have been translated and published by J. H. BERNARD (*Irish Liber Hymnorum*, II, p. 191) and WHITLEY STOKES and JOHN STRACHAN (*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, Cambridge, 1903, II, p. 296); cf. SCRIVENER, *Introduc. to the criticism of the New Testament*, 4th ed., I, p. 180. To see the point of the second quatrain one must know that in old Irish " teicht do Roim " (to go to Rome), was an expression capable of being used as the equivalent of *teicht do écaib*, " to go to death, to die." Herein lies the connection between the two verses (D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, in *Rev. celt.*, XII, 1891, p. 154).

V.—Some Reasons for the Irish Missionary Exodus

TO judge from the extraordinary number of emigrant clerics and monks one might suppose that the disciplinary regulations dealing with clerical or monastic stability were less solidly established in Ireland than on the continent. Such was not the case. The canons and religious rules are at one there as well as elsewhere in condemning the unsteady and the gadder. A synod, attributed to the time of St. Patrick, says: "First it is one's own country one must teach after the example of the Saviour; only in case it refuses to learn is it allowable to abandon it after the example of the Apostle."[1] In what way did the people of Ireland give an excuse for the application of this alternative? That is a matter into which we shall look later. The canonical collection known under the name of *Hibernensis* contains a canon, also purporting to be of Patrician

[1] HADDAN and STUBBS, *Councils and eccl. docum. relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, II. par. 2, p. 335.

origin, thus worded: "*Patricius ait: monachus inconsulto abbate vagus ambulans in plebe debet excommunicari.*"[1] Furthermore, the rules of St. Ailbe of Emly (†c. 540)[2] and of St. Columban (†615)[3] are formal as to the necessity of enclosure for monks. St. Maelruain (†792) and the wise men of Ireland, consulted as to the emigration movement which, in the eighth century, drew such numbers of religious out of their country, disapproved of it.[4] Nevertheless, the great number of monks in Ireland, examples such as those of Columban, Fursa, and Kilian, a real call to apostleship, a summons to a higher grade in ascetic life, the pagans of Gaul and Germany to be converted, the ignorant to be instructed are not these fit motives to justify the distant enterprises of these tire-

[1] WASSERSCHLEBEN, *Die Irische Kanonensammlung*, Leipzig, 1885, lib. xxxix, c. ii, p. 151.

[2] *The Rule of S. Ailbe of Emly*, ed. JOSEPH O'NEILL, str. 33, 48, 52, in *Ériu: The Journal of the school of Irish Learning Dublin*, III, p. 105 and 109.

[3] "*Mortificationis igitur triplex est ratio . . .* [tertio] *non ire quoquam absolute*" (*Reg. Columbani*, IX; PL, LXXX, 216).

[4] Cf. W. REEVES, *The Culdees of the British Islands*, Dublin, 1864, p. 9; E. J. GWYNN and W. J. PURTON, *The Monastery of Tallaght* (*Proceed. of the R. I. Acad.*, XXIX, sect. C., 1911, p. 133).

less travellers, enterprises of which the results, in spite of the losses inevitable to all collective and prolonged works, remain a lasting glory to their country and their faith ? In addition we must not forget that the Danish invasions, which gave all Ireland over to fire and blood for a period of two hundred years, greatly contributed to hasten the flow of emigration. It was about 795 that the Vikings made their first appearance on the Irish shores.[1] At first they sacked the monasteries established on the isles and along the northern and eastern coasts of Ireland. Iona,[2] Bangor, Moville [3] were the first to be attacked and were plundered on several occasions.

Armagh, the religious capital of Ireland, was pillaged three times in one year by the Norwegian chief Turgesius and was seized in 832.[4] Forannan, the *Coarb* of St. Patrick, was com-

[1] *The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, ed. J. H. TODD (*Rer. Britan. medii aevi scriptores*), London, 1867, p. xxxii-xxxiii. *Cf.* H. J. LAWLOR, in his edition of *The Psalter and Martyrology of Ricemarch* (Henry Bradshaw Society), London, 1914, I, p. x.

[2] *The war of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. xxxv.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 9, 15 ; cf. STOKES and LAWLOR, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 6th edition, London, 1907, p. 259 s.

pelled to flee bearing with him the venerated shrine of the national apostle. In spite of the resistance encountered in several places, the enemy soon invaded the island from the south and west; they pressed in on all sides, ascending the rivers in their ships and mooring in the lakes of the interior, whence they ravaged at their will churches and monasteries. They captured or slaughtered the monks, carried off the relics, and flung the reliquaries and books into the water.[1] The great literary centres, Clonard, Clonfert, and Clonmacnois, the pride of learned Ireland, were ruined. The numerous foreign students, who had been attracted to these seats of learning, regained as best they could their own countries; the forsaken masters, unable to live any longer by their great knowledge in the disordered island, also crossed the seas in great numbers, bearing with them as their only baggage their most valued manuscripts.[2]

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13, 139, etc.; cf. E. O'CURRY, *Lectures on the manuscript Materials of ancient History Irish*, Dublin, 1861, p. 5.

[2] Cf. *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, ed. WARREN, I, p. xii, H. ZIMMER, *Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland* (transl. A. Meyer), London, 1902, p. 92.; H. ZIMMER, *Neues Archiv*, XVII, p. 210-211; L. TRAUBE, *O Roma Nobilis* (*Abhandlungen der bayer. Akademie*, I Cl., XIX, p. 373).

This abandonment of their country by the learned Irish, when their help might have been of use in combating either materially or morally the invader, might lead to the belief, as Newman remarks in his essay on *The Danes and the Northmen in England and Ireland*,[1] in a weakening of patriotism or a lessening of Christian charity. Nevertheless, observes this author, is it believable that the fate of their countrymen can have been indifferent to most of these emigrants of the ninth and tenth centuries, whose own life was one of complete self-sacrifice and holiness? Was it not rather that they themselves were treated with indifference by their fellow-countrymen? In support of this last supposition, Newman cites a passage in the *Life of St. Malachy* wherein St. Bernard speaks of the Irish as barbarians.[2] It would appear that there had been between the cultured few and the great mass of the population such a mental disproportion as

[1] J. H. Newman, *Historical Sketches*, London, 1896, III, p. 280 s.

[2] See a discussion of St. Bernard's testimony in *St. Bernard's Life of St. Malachy* by H. J. Lawlor, London, 1920, p. 161-163.

rendered impossible any cohesion in view of a common effort amid the general collapse of everything. Nearer to the events than St. Bernard, and better acquainted with Ireland, Alcuin, who does not fail to extol the *doctissimi magistri* of that country,[1] has no hesitation in also describing the mass of the nation as very barbarous (*perbarbara*).[2] Again, a document entitled the *Colloquy of the Two Sages*, having the appearance of a prophecy, but which, in reality, was drawn up subsequently to the height of the Danish invasions (it is of the tenth century) explains in its own fashion the trouble caused in the ranks of studious society by the coming of the invader by foretelling that in those days " disciples would no longer stand up respectfully in the presence of their masters."[3] We must also add, if we are to believe the Four Masters, that, towards 845, bands of Irish robbers were formed in the island, now given up to anarchy, who rivalled the Vikings in cunning and vandalism.[4]

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[1] ALCUIN, *Ep.* 280 (MG, *Epist.*, iv, 437).

[2] ALCUIN, *Ep.* 287 (*ibid.*, p. 446).

[3] *The Colloquy of the two Sages*, ed. WHITLEY STOKES (*Rev. celt.*, XXVI, 1905, p. 43).

[4] TH. OLDEN, *Church of Ireland*, London, 1895, p. 172. On

Under these conditions, it would seem that the only issue which remained open was the one indicated by the canon already quoted: *De relinquenda vel docenda patria*: "de relinquenda postea, si non proficiet, juxta exemplum Apostoli." Besides, the migration of the learned Irish had started before the beginning of the Danish incursions; but these events, on the one hand, and the warm welcome, on the other, that awaited them from the Carolingian princes, gave it a further impulse.

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the acts of violence of every kind committed in Ireland by the inhabitants, during the ninth and tenth centuries, see the suggestive passages of the Annals inserted by W. Reeves in an appendix to his work, *Primate Colton's Visitation*, Dublin, 1850, p. 94-95.

VI.—Ireland's 'Doctissimi Magistri' Abroad

THROUGHOUT the Middle Ages there was probably not a more barbarous period in Western Europe than the hundred years which ran from 650 to 750. Classical and clerical studies had fallen into utter decay. With very few exceptions, even the best instructed laymen scarcely knew how to read and write. The clergy, indifferently skilled in Latin letters, despised the national tongue which was in truth still undeveloped, and were totally ignorant of Greek. A French copyist, who was about that time transcribing the Salic Law, mistook for Greek the famous Malbergic glosses it contains, and which in reality are words in the Frankish tongue.[1]

Charles the Great realised the necessity there was to improve this state of things. In order to do so, he summoned foreign teachers to Gaul: the Italians Peter of Pisa, Paulinus, and

[1] See the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, LX, 1899, p. 409, n. 2.

Paul the Deacon, the Spaniard Claudius, the Anglo-Saxons Alcuin, Sigewulf, Witto and Fridugise. About the year 782 two Irishmen came to complete this academical group; one of these was named Clemens (who is not to be confounded with the heretic of that name); the other, whose identification is more difficult, was either one of the Dungals or Josephus Scottus. The passage in the *Gesta Caroli Magni* describing the arrival of these two foreigners is well known.[1] We will only recall its principal features which are picturesque and well describe the period and the persons with whom we are dealing. The two *Scotti* land in company with British traders. Their knowledge, both sacred and profane, is soon perceived. They themselves claim to be merchants; they sell learning to those who will buy it (*si quis sapientiae cupidus est, veniat ad nos et accipiat eam*). When Charles hears of this, he hastens to have them brought to the palace, and then inquires on what conditions they will consent to let the Frankish youths benefit by their learning.

[1] *Gesta Karoli Magni*, I. i (MG, *Script.* I, 731; PL XCVIII, 1371-1373).

They do not prove exacting, these men who are without the necessaries of life; all they require is food and shelter with the addition of eager pupils (*loca tantum opportuna et animos ingeniosos, et sine quibus peregrinatio transigi non potest, alimenta et quibus tegamur*). So Clemens stays as professor to the school at the palace. Charles being dead, Louis the Pious maintains him in his duties. At the last he withdraws from them only to go to Wurzburg to die near the tomb of St. Kilian.[1] His companion was sent to Italy, where he taught in the monastery of Saint Augustine at Pavia.

We shall not here undertake to enumerate all the scholarly Irish who assisted in one way or another the work of literary renovation undertaken by the Carolingians. This has been skilfully done by Professor W. Turner in a paper called *Irish Teachers in the Carolingian Revival of Learning*.[2] We shall content our-

[1] WILLIAM TURNER, *Irish Teachers in the Carolingian Revival of Learning*, p. 391.

[2] See TURNER, *Irish Teachers, etc.* (*The Catholic University Bulletin, Washington*, XIII, 1907, 282-399 and 562-581). On the intellectual activity of the Irish one may also con-

selves with recalling the names of the leaders of this movement, and with pointing out the centres from which their influence principally radiated.

Josephus Scottus, just mentioned as the probable companion of Clemens, was a friend and disciple of Alcuin.[1] Poems of his addressed to Alcuin and Charles the Great have come down to us.[2] He also composed a commentary on Isaias which frequently appears in the cata-

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sult: 1° H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Introduction à l'étude de la littérature celtique*, Paris, 1883, p. 366-390; 2° W. SCHULTZE, *Die Bedeutung der iroschottischen Mönche für die Erhaltung und Fortpflanzung der mittelalterlichen Wissenschaft* (*Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, VI, 1889, p. 185-198, 233-241, 281-298); 3° H. ZIMMER, *Ueber die Bedeutung des irischen Elements für die mittelälterliche Cultur* (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, LIX, 1885, p. 27-59). This essay has been translated by J. E. EDMONDS, *The Irish element in medieval culture*, New York, 1891; 4° E. RENAN, *Les études classiques au moyen âge pendant la période carolingienne* in *Mélanges religieux et historiques*, Paris, 1904, p. 257-281; 5° KUNO MEYER, *Learning in Ireland in the fifth century and the transmission of Letters*, Dublin, 1913; 6° J. VENDRYES, *Grammaire du vieil-irlandais*, Paris, 1908, p. i-x; 7° M. MANITIUS, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, München, 1911, I, p. 315 s. *et passim*.

[1] ALCUIN, *Epistolae* (MG, *Epist.*, IV, p. 32, 33, 40, 119, 483).

[2] MG, *Poet. Lat. aevi Carol.*, I, 149.

logues of mediaeval libraries.[1] But it does not appear that his influence was considerable. The Dungals (for it is now pretty certain that several persons of that name were in France and in Italy under Charles and his successors)[2] are more celebrated. Traube differentiates five individuals of the name, all Irishmen. One, known to us through Alcuin, was a bishop; another, questioned by the emperor about the alleged double eclipse of the sun in the year 810, replies in a dissertation which is more remarkable for its latinity than for its scientific merits. He also appears to have had great need to barter his knowledge for that without which *peregrinatio transigi non potest*, for he is constantly pleading poverty. He is with some probability thought to have been the recluse of Saint-Denis, and also the person calling himself *Hibernicus exul* in some verses addressed

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[1] There existed copies of this work at Corbie, Lorsch, and Saint-Gall: cf. G. BECKER, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn, 1885 (See the index). See also MARIO ESPOSITO, *A Bibliography of the Latin Writers of Mediaeval Ireland* (*Studies*, II, 1913, p. 502-503).

[2] L. TRAUBE, *O Roma nobilis, l.c.*, p. 332 s.; KARL STRECKER, *Ein neuer Dungal?* (*Zeit. f. rom. Philologie*, XLI, 1921, 566-573).

to the Emperor.[1] A third Dungal was called by Lothaire to undertake in 825 the direction of the school of Pavia. It was he who opposed Claudius of Turin, who rejected the veneration of relics and images. The fourth Dungal is more shadowy; it is just known that he was a poet. A fifth Dungal seems to have been the one who presented his library to the monastery of Bobbio in the eleventh century.[2]

Among the benefactors of the learned, but necessitous Dungal, who withdrew to Saint-Denis figures Hildoard, Bishop of Cambrai, (790-816).[3] Cambrai appears to have been, at the close of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries, one of the favourite meeting-places of the *Scotti*. The bishops availed of their presence there to have executed several works of compilation and calligraphy which time has preserved for us. In this manner were transcribed for Alberic († 790) the canons of

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[1] *Poet. Lat. aevi Car.*, I, 396 s.

[2] Cf. GOTTLIEB in *Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, IV, p. 443.

[3] *Poet. Lat. aevi Car.*, I, p. 411. The letter in which Dungal *ab episcopo quodam subsidium petit*, c. 800-814 (*Ep.* 2, MG, *Epist.*, IV, p. 578), was, perhaps, also addressed to Hildoard.

the *Hibernensis* contained in the *Codex cameracensis, Nr.* 619, the most ancient manuscript of that canonical collection. It also contains a fragment of a curious sermon in the Irish tongue.[1] It was under the episcopate of Hildoard and for his church that were written the two sacramentaries (MSS. Nrs. 164 and 162-163) the writing and ornamentation of which, in the judgment of Edmund Bishop, bear all the marks of works from Scottic pens.[2] Finally, the penitential composed for Hildoard's successor, Halitgaire (817-831), betrays a Celtic influence which is certainly attributable to the presence of Irishmen in that city.[3]

Just as Cambrai; Rheims, Soissons, Laon, and Liège had colonies of *Scotti*, and at the same time. Dunchad, at once a bishop and a grammarian, taught polite literature in the

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[1] H. Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, p. xxx; A. Molinier, *Catalogue général des bibliothèques de France. Départements*, Paris, 1891, XVII, p. 257 s.; Whitely Stokes and J. Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II, p. xxvi, 244-247.

[2] Edm. Bishop, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, IV, 1903, p. 414-415.

[3] Paul Fournier, *Etudes sur les pénitentiels* (*Revue d'hist. et de litt. religieuses*, VIII, 1903, p. 528 s.).

monastery of Saint-Remi of Rheims. Among his pupils, according to all appearances, he had Remigius of Auxerre and Gottschalk.[1] Traube also calls attention to a Latin poetry of a very unusual style which, in the ninth century, was in fashion in the province of Rheims, and which looks as though imitated from Irish models.[2] This same scholar has edited the *ludicra* of a certain Irishman dwelling at that time at Soissons.[3] It was in this same town that Heiric of Auxerre met a bishop named Mark, *natione Brito*, but educated in Ireland, who, after a long and saintly episcopate, resolved to go into exile (*ultroneam sibi peregrinationem indixit*), and was then living as an anchorite in the monastery of Saint-Médard and Saint-Sebastian. From the mouth of this old man Heiric gathered details of the doings of St. Germanus of Auxerre in Great Britain, which details he later incorporated in his *Miracula Germani*.[4]

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[1] TRAUBE, in *Neues Archiv.*, XVIII, p. 104; M. ESPOSITO, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

[2] MG, *Poet. Lat. aevi Car.*, III, p. 710-711 (note).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 690.

[4] HEIRIC, *Mirac. Germani*, I, 8 (PL, CXXIV, 1245); Cf. L. TRAUBE, MG, *Poet. Lat. aevi Car.*, III, p. 422.

But no town in this region was more attractive to the Irish than Laon. The most illustrious emigrant of the time, John Scottus Erigena,[1] stayed there either in the court of Charles the Bald, who had nominated him to the mastership of the palace school, or drawn there by the bishop of the town, his friend Hincmar the Younger, or his countrymen who were already established in the place.[2] No foreigner, if we except Alcuin, exercised a greater intellectual influence in Carolingian France than John Scottus. At once theologian, grammarian, poet, he was held to be a master in them all. Among his principal disciples are reckoned Wicbald, who became bishop of Auxerre, and two of his fellow-countrymen, Elias, later one of the masters of Heiric of Auxerre and bishop of Angoulême, and, pro-

[1] The author of the life of St. Buo mentions John Erigena and Dungal the Theologian (*theologum eximium*) among the many Irish who were driven to cross the sea by the fury of the Danes (from WARREN, *The Antiph. of Bangor*, I, p. xiii).

[2] L. TRAUBE, in *Neues Archiv.*, XVIII, p. 104; *O Roma nobilis, l.c.*, p. 362-363; *Poet. Lat.*, p. 519, n. 4. On John Scottus, see M. ESPOSITO, *op. cit.*, p. 505 s.

bably, Martin the Irishman (†875), one of the most learned representatives of the Scottic colony of Laon.[1] This Martin compiled a Greco-Latin glossary which we still possess,[2] and, like his reputed master, he wrote Greek verse.[3] It is known that Erigena translated into Latin the works of the pseudo-Denys the Areopagite. The knowledge of Greek revealed in this work filled with wonder Anastasius the Librarian himself. He, on this occasion, wrote to Charles the Bald: "*Mirandum est quomodo vir ille barbarus, in finibus mundi positus, talia intellectu capere in aliamque linguam transferre valuerit.*" [4] Thanks to the *Scotti*, it became the fashion to talk Greek at Laon. Bishop Hincmar attempted it; still better, he who, according to his uncle Hincmar of Rheims, was

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[1] L. TRAUBE, *Poet. Lat.*, p. 519-520, n. 5 *in fine*; p. 422, n. 2 *in fine*; p. 523.

[2] It is *Ms.* 444 of Laon; cf. *Catal. génér. des Mss. des bibl. publ. des Dép.*, Paris, 1849, I, p. 234. E. MILLER in *Notices et extraits des Mss. de la Bibl. nat. et autres biblioth.*, XXIX, 2nd. part, p. 1-230. Cf. L. GOUGAUD, *Répertoire des fac-similés des Mss. irlandais* (*Revue celtique*, XXXVIII, 1920, p. 6).

[3] *Poet. Lat.*, III, p. 696 s.

[4] ANASTASIUS, *Ep.* 2 (PL, CXXIX, 739).

ignorant of his own language prided himself on speaking Irish.[1]

Sedulius Scottus reached the continent about the same time as John Scottus Erigena. He settled at Liège.[2] He was there retained by bishop Hartgaire (840-855) as professor in the school of Saint-Lambert. In his great poverty his teaching obtained for him some resources ; moreover, he knew how, by graceful and kindly verses, to interest in his lot the most powerful personages of the time, such as bishops Hartgaire and Franco, Charles the Bald, Lothair I and his wife Irmingard, Louis the German and others.[3] He, too, was acquainted with Greek, but in a lesser degree than John Scottus.[4] Like him, however, he was endowed with encyclopaedic knowledge. Grammarian, he comments Eutyches, Donatus,

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[1] HINCMAR, *Opusculum LV capitulorum* (SIRMOND, *Hincm. Op.*, II, p. 547).

[2] He arrived in this town between 840 and 851, according to H. PIRENNE, *Sédulius de Liège*, in *Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale de Belgique*, XXXIII, 1882, p. 20.

[3] MG, *Poet. Lat. aevi Carol.*, III, p. 180-183 ; 190-192 ; 187 ; 195 s., etc.

[4] S. HELLMANN, *Sedulius Scottus*, München, 1906, p. 122.

Priscian [1]; philosopher, he explains the Isagoge of Porphyry; expounder, he writes his *Collectaneum in Epistolas Pauli* [2]; scribe, it is probable he has left us copies from his own hand in the Greek Psalter (Nr. 8047) of the Arsenal Library in Paris,[3] and in the Epistles of St. Paul in Greek of the *Codex Boernerianus* of the Library of Dresden (Ms. A. 145b) [4]; finally, political writer, he composed for Lothair II the *De rectoribus christianis*, a sort of royal mirror.[5] In his poems he names several of his countrymen and companions: Dermot, Fergus, Blandus, Marcus, Benchell. Like him,

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[1] M. ROGER, *Le commentariolum in artem Eutychii de Sedulius Scottus* (*Revue de philologie*, 1906, 122-123); S. HELLMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 105 s; M. ESPOSITO, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

[2] Cf. L. GOUGAUD, *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 259.

[3] MONTFAUCON, *Paleo. graeca*, III, 7, p. 236. Nevertheless SAMUEL BERGER (*Hist. de la Vulgate*, p. 116) refuses to believe that this Psalter was made by Sedulius of Liege. Cf. L. GOUGAUD, *Répertoire*, p. 7.

[4] *O Roma nobilis*, p. 348. Cf. L. GOUGAUD, *Répertoire*, p. 2.

[5] Published by MAI and later by HELLMANN, p. 19-21. The poems which intersperse this work have been published by TRAUBE, *Poet. Lat.* III, p. 154-166. Cf. H. TIRALLA, *Das Augustinische Idealbild d. christl. Obrigkeit als Quelle d. Fürstenspiegel d. Sedulius Scottus u. Hincmar von Reims*, Greisswald, 1916 (Dissert.).

they are grammarians, scholars, sages; some are priests; they ask only to gain a living by their learning, for they are, as are all those arriving from Ireland, very poor.[1] Under this aspect they and others like them will specially interest us a little later. For the present let us seek to appreciate in a few lines the nature and value of this Irish learning, of which we have named the principal representatives in foreign lands, and to show what effect it produced on their contemporaries.

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[1] *Poet. Latin.*, p. 168:

"Nos tumidus Boreas vastat—miserabile visu—
Doctos grammaticos presbiterosque pios;
. . . . . .
Fessis ergo favens, Hartgari floride praesul,
Sophos Scottigenas suscipe corde pio."

VII.—The Knowledge of Greek in Ireland During the Middle Ages

WE must guard against exaggeration and anachronisms when treating of the mental culture of ancient Ireland. It has been proved that from the intellectual point of view the influence of St. Patrick left no effect on the Irish Christian communities. A century goes by, and, in the period illustrated by what has been called the second order of Irish Saints, straightway arise on all sides monasteries which quickly become centres at once of piety and science : Moville, Clonmacnois, Clonfert, Clonard, Bangor.[1] What instruction was given in these cloisters ? What was the extent or value of the lectures of a Finnian of Clonard, of a Comgall of Bangor ? This is what it is hard to decide, for the personal

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[1] L. GOUGAUD. *Les Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 73-78 and 241 s.

work of these masters has not reached us.[1] Judging by the writings of their disciples, and for examples let us take Columba of Iona [2] and Columban of Luxeuil,[3] it is permissible to believe that it was possible to acquire in Ireland, about the sixth century, a thorough knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, some acquaintance with the most celebrated Fathers of the West, a latinity usually correct, ornamented with abstract and rare words. Furthermore, some profane authors of Rome were read,[4] and a few acquired the art of writing Latin metrical verse.[5]

This was enough to make Ireland appear to the people of the seventh and eighth centuries as the privileged ark which preserved,

[1] There remains to us only a penitential bearing the name of Finnian. Wasserschleben and O. Seebas identify this Finnian with the founder of Clonard.

[2] The critics are all agreed in attributing to him the hymn *Altus prosator*. It has been published by BERNARD and ATKINSON, *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, I, p. 62 s. and in *Revue celtique*, V, p. 205 s.

[3] Columban has left a rule, a penitential, letters and poems which will be found in MIGNE, PL, LXXX.

[4] In Columban there are reminiscences of Persius, Virgil, Ovid, Horace and Sallust; in Cellanus and Adamnan of Virgil.

[5] Columban has left us hexameters and other verse.

amid universal barbarism, the deposit of sacred learning and classical letters. Men then came from the neighbouring countries, from Gaul and Great Britain, to draw abundantly from this store.[1] Are we to go further and claim that, even in those remote days, Greek was cultivated with honour in the island? This is much more doubtful. It is true that we are informed that Columba, Columban, Adamnan make use of Greek words, that Columba knew *Iona* in Hebrew had the meaning of the Greek περιστερά and of the Latin *columba*, that Adamnan expresses the same linguistic doctrine,[2] but do these supply evidence sufficient to enable us to affirm that Greek and Hebrew were currently taught at Iona and Bangor, and, with still greater temerity, that "all the monks who took part in the foundation of Luxeuil knew Greek?"[3] Assuredly not. Or, because

[1] Cadoc, Agilbert, Egbert, Willibrord, Aldfrid, Sulien, etc. . . studied in Ireland; cf. PLUMMER, *Bedae hist. op.*, II, p. 196-197; L. GOUGAUD, *Chrét. celt.*, p. 251.

[2] D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Cours de littérature celtique*, I, p. 391. M. ROGER has very well unravelled all these questions in his fine work: *L'enseignement des lettres classiques d'Ausone à Alcuin*, Paris, 1905, p. 268 s.

[3] A. TOUGARD, *L'hellénisme au moyen âge* (*Lettres chrétiennes*, III, p. 233).

the biographer of St. Patrick, Muirchu Maccu Mactheni, who was living in 698, may have borrowed from the *Antiquities* of Flavius Josephus, or may have drawn inspiration from Apollonius of Rhodes,[1] or because Cummian quotes in his *De controversia paschali* from a work which has been attributed to St. Cyril, does it follow that these writers were directly acquainted with these Greek authors in the original ? [2] The Greek words found in other works and the Latin texts written in Greek characters are not more convincing. Generally in all this we must see only a pedantic and purely verbal display, easily obtained with the help of glossaries, or else the mere fancies and whims of pretentious or merry scribes.

It has been written that " the religious and literary education of Ireland were two parallel and simultaneous facts." [3] In truth the great

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[1] WHITLEY STOKES, in *Academy* of 22 March, 1890, p. 207 ; Cf. *Rev. celt.*, XI, p. 370 ; ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

[2] ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 272. It is now known that Cummian borrowed his quotation from a Latin work on the Paschal question falsely placed under the name of St. Cyril (Cf. BR. KRUSCH, *Studien zur christlich-mittelalt. Chronologie*, p. 341 s).

[3] H. PIRENNE, *Sédulius de Liège*. p. 9.

founders of Irish schools were saints and their scholars were monks. The word "sage," so frequently employed in the Christian literature of the *Scotti*, is constantly applied to a person who is learned at once both in the sacred and profane sciences. To speak very strictly, there was held to be but one science, that of the Sacred Scriptures. It was that science people came chiefly to seek from the Irish doctors.[1] The other branches of learning were only considered to be handmaids or assistants to religious education. The liberal arts, prosody, poetry, chronology, were in principle believed to have no other right to exist than in so far as they were useful in preparing the mind for the *lectio divina*, by which was meant the study of the Divine Thought as expressed in the Bible and handed down by tradition.[2] Beautiful handwriting, exquisitely minute painting, two arts brought to the greatest perfection in Ireland, also served, first and foremost, to multiply and embellish religious books, liturgical works, and the writings of the Fathers.

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[1] BEDE, *Eccles. hist.*, III, 7 (PL, XCV, 127); III, 27 (*ibid.*, 165-166); V, 15 (*ibid.*, 255.)

[2] ROGER, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

Now, such a system of education aptly qualified the Irish monks to work in the intellectual reform undertaken with the protection of Charles the Great. For, in fact, the Emperor in no way aimed at the formation of mere humanists, of men devoted to the special and exclusive study of ancient literature: he simply wished to raise up priests and monks capable of understanding and copying Latin, and to furnish them with well written and faultless books for study and for the services of the Church. So the Irish taught the Franks orthography and grammar;[1] they commented the Scriptures, they brought from their isle some biblical and liturgical works; above all they made numerous copies of such works on the continent. We have given some idea of the academic and literary works of these emigrants; here is the place to say a word about their calligraphic and artistic skill.

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[1] To the Irish grammarians already mentioned, who taught on the continent in the ninth century, we have to add Dubthach (TRAUBE, *Poet. Carol.*, III, p. 685), Malsachanus (HAURÉAU, *Singular hist. et litt.*, p. 18), Cuindmelus (HAURÉAU, p. 19) and a Scot dwelling at Milan (MG. *Epist.*, IV. p. 201); cf. *Rev. Bén.*, X, 1893, p. 193 s.

Catalogues of ancient libraries describe a very considerable number of manuscripts as *scottice scripti*;[1] but in the later middle ages and in modern times the *scriptura scottica* was considered unreadable, and some Mss. in that writing were destroyed. Many others were lost. Nevertheless, without any exaggeration, we can reckon at one hundred the religious Mss. copied by Irish hands before the end of the eleventh century and actually in the possession of continental libraries.[2] Paleographers are agreed in recognising the influence of the *scriptura scottica* on the calligraphic reform of the ninth century; it largely contributed to the birth of the small caroline.[3] But it was still more

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[1] TRAUBE has drawn up a list of the manuscripts in *Scriptura scottica* from the old catalogues in *Perrona Scottorum*, p. 529-532.

[2] W. SCHULTZE, *Die Bedeutung der iroschottischen Mönch für die Erhaltung und Fortpflanzung der mittelalterlichen Wissenschaft*, p. 85 s.; 233 s. 281 s. Cf. E. HULL, *Early Christian Ireland*, ch. XXIV, *Irish Libraries abroad*, London, 1905. See my *Répertoire des fac-similés des mss. irlandais* (*Revue celtique*, XXXIV, 1913, 14-37; XXXV, 1914, 415-430; XXXVIII, 1920, 1-14).

[3] M. PROU, *Manuel de Paléographie latine et française*, Paris, 1890, p. 43; A. GIRY, *Manuel de diplomatique*, Paris, 1894, p. 514.

from the ornamental point of view that the Scottic artists were imitated by continental scribes.[1] Their plaiting, their interlacing, their initials shaped like animals or encircled with red points, their large plates brilliantly coloured and filled with groupings of the most fanciful and varied designs, all of these are to be found mingled with elements of Anglo-Saxon origin (acanthus, volutes, branches, the human form less rudimentarily treated) in the style called Franco-Saxon, which began to flourish in the ninth century in the north of France, a region, as we have seen, that was particularly rich in Scottic colonies. Any eye only slightly acquainted with the art of Irish miniaturists will detect at a glance the ornamental motives borrowed from it in certain initials in the second Bible of Charles the Bald (Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 2) or in the ornamental pages of the Gospels of Saint-Vaast at Arras, a manuscript cited by Leopold Delisle as the type of the Franco-Saxon school of northern France.[2]

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[1] PROU, *op. cit.*, p. 75 ; A. MOLINIER, *Les manuscrits et la miniature*, Paris, 1892, p. 85.

[2] Cf. L. GOUGAUD, *Répertoire, passim.*

Under Charles the Bald, a lettered prince, the compass of studies tended to enlarge. Dialectics and the study of Greek, hitherto only superficially pursued, made a great advance under John Scottus Erigena and his disciples. These really knew Greek, and they cultivated and made known the writers of Greece.[1] Whence came their knowledge? The arrival in England of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who came from Tarsus in Cilicia, and of his companion Hadrian, who had received a Greek education, cannot have been without influence on the progress made in the cultivation of Greek in Ireland. Intercourse with Plato, the Alexandrines and Origen developed the naturally speculative genius of John Scottus, making of him a bold thinker, even a too bold one, for he specially fell into the aberrations of pantheism.

The emigrants of this generation furthermore largely benefited also by their residence on the continent from the point of view of their intellectual development. Dungal of Pavia,

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[1] Mario Esposito, *The Knowledge of Greek in Ireland during the Middle Ages* (*Studies*, I, 1912, 665-683).

John Scottus, and perhaps Dicuil,[1] perfected on the continent their philological, patristic, geographical, and philosophical learning. S. Helmann has shown also that the scope of the studies of Sedulius Scottus was notably enlarged by frequenting Frankish libraries.[2] But in spite of all this, if we collect the evidence given by contemporaries about the scholars of Ireland, we ascertain that these witnesses are conscious of being largely indebted to these Irish scholars for the development made in learning. In their eyes Irish knowledge is out of the common, and is worthy of the most pompous praise.

The Venerable Bede appreciated highly the excellence of the traditions of learning and piety taught to the English children by the Celtic monks of Lindisfarne, as also the liberality with which the Irish welcomed to their own land all strangers thirsting for knowledge.[3]

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[1] DICUIL, author of *De mensura orbis terrae*, was also a grammarian and poet. He crossed to the continent early in the ninth century; but where he resided is not known. Cf. M. ESPOSITO, *Dicuil, an Irish monk in the ninth century*, in *Dublin Review*, October, 1905, p. 327-337.

[2] HELLMANN, *Sedulius Scottus*, München, 1906, p. 103 s.

[3] "Imbuebantur praeceptoribus Scottis parvuli Anglorum, una cum majoribus studiis et observatione disciplinae

Other authors can find nothing less than the superlative to express their admiration for the learned *Scotti*.[1] The Welsh biographer of St. Cadoc depicts his hero leaving to follow the lectures of these excellent masters from whose mouth he gathers "the sum of Western learning."[2] Alcuin recalls the services rendered to Christianity by the "*doctissimi magistri de Hibernia*, who brought about such great progress in the churches of Christ in England, in Gaul, and in Italy."[3] The Monk of Saint-Gall describes Clemens and his companion as men "incomparably instructed in letters secular

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regularis" (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 3). "Erant ibidem eo tempore multi nobilium simul et mediocrum de gente Anglorum qui, tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria, vel divinae lectionis vel continentioris vitae gratia illo secesserant. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticae conversationis fideliter manciparunt, lectione operam dare gaudebant, quos omnes Scotti libentissime suscipientes, victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum et magisterium gratuitum praebere curabant" (*Ibid.*, III, 27).

[1] "*Peritissimi Scottorum*" (NENNIUS, *Hist. Brittonum*, c. 15); "*Quidam peritissimi Scotti*" (*Vita Samsonis*, 37, ed. FAWTIER, *La Vie de S. Samson*, Paris, 1912, p. 133).

[2] *Vita S. Cadoci*, 7 (REES, *Cambro-British Saints*, Llandovery, 1853, p. 36).

[3] *Ep.* 280 (MG, *Epist.*, IV, 437).

and sacred." [1] One of the representatives of German erudition in the ninth century, Ermenrich of Ellwangen († 874), in his letter to abbot Grimoald, extols the Irish isle "*unde nobis tanti luminis jubar advenit*," "because, bestowing philosophy to the small and the great, she fills the Church with her science and her teaching." [2] At the beginning of the eighth century St. Aldhelm of Sherborne beheld with a jealous eye the troops of pilgrims of science who sailed to the shores of Erin.[3] After the Danish incursions it is the inverse phenomenon which Heiric of Auxerre depicts in a dedication to Charles the Bald preceding his *Vita Germani*. He represents almost all Ireland transporting herself with her troop of philosophers to French shores. He adds: "The more an Irishman is learned and clever, the more decided is he to this voluntary exile, where he goes to answer to the wishes of a new Solomon." [4]

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[1] "Viros et in saecularibus et in sacris scripturis incomparabiliter eruditos" (MG, *Script.*, II, 731).

[2] *Epist. ad Grim. abb.* (MG, *Epist.*, V, p. 575).

[3] "*Cur, inquam, Hibernia, quo catervatim isthinc lectores classibus advecti confluunt, ineffabili quodam privilegio efferatur. . .*" (*Ep.* 3, PL, LXXXIX, 94).

[4] PL, CXXIV, 1133.

Enough has now been said, making allowance moreover for the oratorical tone of this testimony, to appreciate in what high esteem foreigners held Irish science in its heyday. Let us now investigate more intimately into the wandering existence of our travellers, observing them first during their passage from the natal isle to "the place of their peregrination"; then during the period of their exile. This will give us an opportunity to examine the establishments destined to serve as their asylum on the continent.

VIII.—Travelling Methods of the Islanders

WATTENBACH has quoted, in the memoir called *Die Congregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland*,[1] a curious passage in the Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond which he thought presented a living picture of the habits of an Irish pilgrim in the late middle ages.[2] But it is difficult to decide whether in this particular passage the author is referring to Irish or Scotch pilgrims. *Scotti*,

[1] WATTENBACH, in *Zeitschrift für christliche Archaeologie und Kunst*, 1856, p. 21-30, 49-58. This paper has been translated into English. W. REEVES has enriched it with very many and appropriate notes which double its value. This translation appeared in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, VII, 1859, p. 227-246 and 295-313. Reeves cannot be, as is often asserted, the translator, for we read in a letter of his dated 1891 : " *I don't know a word of German* " (LADY FERGUSON, *Life of W. Reeves, Bishop of Down*, Dublin, 1893, p. 173). Wattenbach's work deals chiefly with Irish foundations of the later middle ages.

[2] JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND, *Chronicon*, 35, ed. J. GAGE ROKOWODE, p. 35 (*Camden Soc.*), London, 1840 ; ed. TH. ARNOLD (*Memorials of Saint-Edmund's Abbey*, I, p. 252 s.) (*Rer. Brit. medii aevi Scriptores*). London, 1890.

from the pen of an English writer of the twelfth century, may well mean either Scotch or Irish ;[1] consequently this quotation from the Chronicle can have for us only the value of a simple analogy. So we prefer to gather here and there from other documents the *traits* which are fittest to bring before us most clearly the conditions under which the Irish travelled and were received on the continent in the early middle ages.

As a rule they set out in bands. One such band would often consist of twelve persons.[2] It would indeed have been imprudent to undertake alone a long journey abroad in those stormy and violent times.[3] If they did not think they were numerous and strong enough, monks and clerics willingly joined caravans of

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[1] TH. ARNOLD, *op. cit.*, p. XLII, and the late translator of the *Chronicon*, M. L. C. JANE (*The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, monk of Saint-Edmondsbury*, London, 1907, p. 226) both translate *Scotti* by " Scotch."

[2] See W. REEVES, *The Life of St. Columba written by Adamnan*, Dublin, 1857, p. 299-303.

[3] On the precautions to be taken, *propter frequentiam latrocinii*, on setting out for a journey, see letter 44 of Einhard (MG, *Epist.*, V, p. 132) and letter 104 of Lupus of Ferrières (IV, p. 91).

traders; this is what Clemens, the pedlar of wisdom, and his companion did.

I do not know where J. V. Pflugk-Harttung found that emigrants usually reached Gaul by way of Britanny and the Loire.[1] No text proves this. On the contrary, several expressly bear witness that the Irish sailed first to Great Britain, crossed that island, and then took ship again from its southern coast, probably from some Kentish port, in order to cross the Channel in its narrowest part.[2] I have, moreover, shown that this, in its main lines, was the route followed by St. Columban.[3] It was also the

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[1] PFLUGK-HARTTUNG, *The Old Irish on the Continent*, *l.c.*, 77. The articles of H. Zimmer on the same lines have also failed to convince me. See H. ZIMMER, *Ueber directe Handelsverbindungen Westgalliens mit Irland im Altertum und frühen Mittelalter* (*Sitzungsberichte der k. Preussischen Akad.*, 1909, p. 363-400, 430-476, 543-580).

[2] Vulganius (MABILLON, *Acta Sanct.* O.S.B., 4° *saec.*, 2, p. 541), S. Cadroë (*Boll.*, March, I, p. 476) embark from the Kentish coast. On the port of Richborough (*Rutubi portus*), near Sandwich, Kent, as a place of embarkation for the continent, see BEDE, *Eccl. Hist.*, I, 1 and the notes of PLUMMER (II, p. 5).

[3] *Un point obscur de l'itinéraire de S. Colomban venant en Gaule* (*Annales de Bretagne*, XXI, 1907, p. 327-343). Cf. *Neues Archiv* (XXXII, 518-519) and *Analecta Bollandiana* (XXVI, 477).

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itinerary chosen by Clemens Scottus,[1] by St. Kilian,[2] by Rombault,[3] and by several others. Agilbert, the future bishop of Paris, returning from studying the Holy Scriptures in Ireland, followed no other route.[4] Furthermore, Thierry of Saint-Trond tells us that from the time of St. Rombault (eighth century) this was the road constantly followed.[5] Doubtless it is to the likeness of the Latin names for Great Britain and Britanny, and to the belief in a vague racial kinship, that several modern writers have been led into thinking that there was frequent intercourse between Ireland and

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[1] " Contigit duos Scottos de Hibernia cum mercatoribus Brittanis ad litus Galliae devenire " (*Gesta Karoli*, I, 1 ; MG, *Script.*, II, p. 731).

[2] " Ad vicinam Scottiae Britanniam pervenit ; quam non longa navigatione praeteriens, Galliam attigit " (*Passio Kiliani* ; *Boll.*, July, II, 615).

[3] " [E Scotia] in Britanniam ex more gentis transmeat. . Inde transmisso Morinorum freto, qua brevissimus transitus maris est, in Gallias defertur " (THIERRY OF S. TROND, *Vita Rumoldini*, I, 3 ; *Boll.*, July, I, 215).

[4] BEDE, *Eccl. Hist.*, III, 7 (PL, XCV, 127).

[5] See note 3 above, and the marginal note on folio 33 of the *Codex Palatino-Vatic.* Nr. 830 of the *Chronicon* of MARIANUS SCOTTUS, reproduced in MG, *Script.*, V, p. 481 (PL, CXLVII, 602-603). The Scot expelled by Charles the Great for breaking, about 795, the rule of Lenten abstinence is sent back to Ireland by way of the kingdom of Mercia.

Armorica. As a matter of fact the direct communication between the two countries was rather rare.[1]

Once landed on the Boulogne or Ponthieu coast,[2] the *peregrini* would take the most varied directions, either in accordance with prearranged plans or by following the inspiration or circumstances of the moment. Certain monastic traditions, accepted by the Celts, lead us to believe that those who had adopted wandering out of pure asceticism most frequently travelled on foot. This form of mortification was in fact largely practised; it was even compulsory for certain monks. The *Regula cujusdam patris ad monachos*, which we think is of Celtic origin, considers an abbot un-

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[1] J. Loth, *L'Emigration bretonne en Armorique*, Paris, 1883, p. 164 s. Samuel Berger is, in my opinion, wrong when he writes: "Now, Britanny was, more than any other land, a spiritual colony of Ireland; its bishops had monasteries for their sees . . . is it not natural to admit that Irish [*Biblical*] texts radiated from Britanny on the neighbouring countries?" (*Hist. de la Vulgate, p.* 49). For my part, I do not believe in this *radiation*.

[2] Vulganius disembarks at the mouth of the Authie, St. Boniface at Quentovic, where also Theodore of Canterbury embarks, St. Cadroë lands at Boulogne, Chaidoc and Fricor on the Ponthieu coast.

mortified who, in his displacements, consents to make use of a horse or a car. A vigorous monk who did not thus travel on foot rendered himself, according to the same rule, liable to excommunication.[1] The *Ordo monasticus de Kil-ros* is not in any degree less severe. It concedes only to an aged abbot (seniculus) an *equiculum ad iter faciendum.*[2] Moreover, we formally know that St. Aidan,[3] St. Chad,[4] and St. Kentigern [5] went their mission rounds on foot. St. Wilfrid, going at the age of seventy to Rome, covered the whole land portion of his journey on foot in 704.[6] To abstain from driving or riding was held to be an apostolical tradition,[7] and was sometimes put on the same level as continence and abstinence.[8] It

[1] *Regula cuj. patris ad monachos*, c. 20 and 21 (PL, LXVI, 901).

[2] *Ordo* (PL, LIX, 565).

[3] BEDE, *Eccl. hist.*, III, 5 (PL, XCV, 123).

[4] *Ibid.*, III, 28 (*ibid.*, 168).

[5] JOCELIN OF FURNESS, *Vita Kentegerni*, 19, ed. A.P. FORBES (*The Historians of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1874, p. 192-193).

[6] EDDIUS, *Vita Wilfrida*, 50-54; cf. CH. PLUMMER, ed. of BEDE, II, p. 320.

[7] See the references in preceding notes.

[8] Cf. *Can. hibern.*, in HADDAN and STUBBS, I, p. 108-109. It is stated in the Welsh laws of Howel the Good that, in

is probable that the insular ascetics and missionaries conformed to this custom. The texts do not say so very categorically;[1] but the extreme fatigue of which several travellers complain,[2] the poverty of most of them, the destitution to which, from want of baggage, they are seen to be reduced,[3] all these indications incline one to think that as a rule

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certain trials, there must be obtained the evidence and oath of persons "continentes et abstinentes, id est a muliere, a carne *et equitatione*" (OWEN, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, London, 1841, p. 796 and 828). On this ascetic custom, see my paper *Anciennes traditions ascétiques*, I. *L'usage de voyager à pied* (*Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, III, 1922, p. 56-59).

[1] *Epistolae Scottorum Leodienses*, in *Neues Archiv*, XIII, p. 360-363; MG, *Epist.*, IV, p. 195 s.; *Ep.* 3: "Siquidem infirmitate pedum prepeditus cum suis fratribus ire Romam non potest. Beati eritis, si tali venerabili seni opem pietatis impendatis. . . ." *Vita Agili*, c. 24 (*Boll.*, July, I, 215).

[2] SEDUL. SCOT., *Carmina* II, III (TRAUBE, *Poet. Lat.*, III, p. 168):

"Fessis ergo favens, Hartgari floride praesul,
Sophos Scottigenas suscipe corde pio"

Read the curious account of the pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Heribert of Cologne of the *claudicus Scotticus* Duntac, in the *Vita S. Heriberti* (MG, *Script.*, XV, 2nd. part, p. 1245 s.). He is miraculously cured: *qui prius male tripes, nunc bene bipes coepit discurrere.*

[3] *Epistolae Scot. Leod.*, *l.c.*, *passim.*

they used no other form of locomotion than walking.[1]

Great indeed was the distress of those who migrated both before and after the Danish invasions. Such persons as Clemens, Dungal, Sedulius are reduced each moment to implore the pity of a prince or noble for themselves or their countrymen in want. They realise that they may be burthensome to the society which receives them: "*Nos ergo pauperes et peregrini oneri forsitan et fastidio vobis videamur esse propter nostram multitudinem et importunitatem et clamositatem.*" [2] But hunger, thirst, fatigue, the inclemency of the weather roughly try them and compel them to groan aloud.[3] The better to reach the heart, these men of

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[1] St. Columban, nevertheless, will according to the custom of the time travel by boat on the Rhine, and St. Samson would use the car, "quem de Hibernia apud se apportaverat" (*Vita Samsonis*, 47, ed. FAWTIER, p. 143).

[2] DUNGAL, *Ep.* 4 (MG, *Epist.*, IV, p. 580).

[3] *Epist. Scot. Leod. Ep.* I, "In magnis augustiis coarctor, immo vivere non possum in tali miseria, non habens ad manducandum et bibendum, nisi pessimum panem et minimam particulam de pessima cervisia." The Irish monks who overran the continent often applied the term "miser" to themselves (Cf. WATTENBACH, in *Rev. Celt.*, I, 1870-1871, p. 263).

letters give vent to their woes in Latin verse.[1] A *Scottus* threatened with chastisement escapes from Bobbio and takes refuge at Saint-Zeno in Verona; there, in poverty and loneliness, he begins to regret the cloister of Saint Columban and writes the following distiches:

Nocte dieque gemo, quia sum peregrinus et egens:
Attritus febribus nocte dieque gemo.
Plangite me, iuvenes, animo qui me colebatis:
Rideat hinc quisquis: plangite me, iuvenes.
Magne Columba, roga dominum ne sperner ab ipso:
Quo reddar tibimet, magne Columba, roga. . .[2]

Another, at Soissons, chilled by the cold, envies the good fire at which Carloman, son of Charles the Bald, a monk in the same town, warms himself:

Karlomanne, tuis arridet partibus ignis.
Nos vero gelidos urit iniqua hiems.[3]

This one going to Rome is attacked and slain

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[1] All had not this resource: "Non sum grammaticus neque sermone latino peritus," says an Irishman settled at Liège (*Epist. Scot. Leod., Ep.* 2).

[2] *Lamentum R[efugae] cuiusdam* (MG, *Poet. Lat. aevi Carol.*, III, p. 688).

[3] *Poet. Lat., l.c.*, p. 690.

by brigands on the banks of the Aisne.[1] That other, returning from the Eternal City, is stripped by robbers of a part of his clothes. In detail he enumerates his losses in a letter to Franco, bishop of Liège, hoping, says he, that the prelate will from his charity make good the damage done: "*Vincat vestra pietas raptorum impietatem. . . .*"[2]

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[1] FLODOARD, *Hist. Eccl. Rem.*, IV, 48 (MG, *Script.*, XIII, p. 597).

[2] *Ep. Scot. Leod., Ep.* 4.

IX.—Charitable Institutions for the Benefit of the 'Scotti.'—'Monasteria Scottorum.'

IN the foregoing pages, we have named several continental bishops who were noted for their zeal in helping the *Scotti*: St. Faro of Meaux, St. Didier of Cahors, Ansoald of Poitiers, Hartgaire and Franco of Liège, the bishops of Cambrai. Other prelates occupied themselves in getting restored to them establishments for assistance or for permanent refuge which Irishmen had founded for their fellow-countrymen at places frequented by them, and of which they had been unjustly despoiled. These were hospices specially destined to shelter travellers and pilgrims (*hospitalia Scottorum*),[1] or monasteries open only to *Scotti* who wished to end their days in retreat on foreign soil (*monasteria Scottorum*). Several establishments served at the same time for both these purposes.

During the Merovingian epoch we see St.

[1] Cf. Du Cange, *s.v.*

Bertin causing to be built by four persons who had come from Great Britain a refuge for the poor and for travellers.[1] Mention is also made of the construction, about 725, of a *xenodochium* at Moutiers-en-Puisaie, south-west of Auxerre,[2] for the British who were going as pilgrims to Rome.[3] But these establishments were destined, the first, for the poor and for strangers in general, the second, for Britons only; it would appear that we must look for the earliest examples of *monasteria Scottorum*, properly so called, at Péronne and at Honau.

It will be recalled how Charles the Great was energetic in restoring the monks of the Alsatian cloister to the possession of their stolen property. The document which orders this restitution gives reason to believe that there existed already, prior to 772, several similar establish-

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[1] Folcuin, *Gesta abbat. S. Bertini* (MG, *Script.*, XIII, 610).

[2] Canton of Saint-Sauveur-en-Puisaie (Yonne).

[3] *Gesta episcop. Autissiodorensium* (MG, *Script.*, XIII, 395). Lupus of Ferrières informs us that Charles the Great had given Alcuin the cell of St. Josse, in Ponthieu, not far from Quentovic, to be made a hospice for travellers (*Ep.* 11, MG, *Epist.*, IV, p. 21). This hospice may have been used by the *Scotti* landing in those parts.

ments.[1] The Emperor worked hard to increase the number of these pious and charitable foundations, which were greatly to his taste. But the disrepute into which the *Scotti* fell towards the close of his reign suddenly stopped this development. The Irish were even dispossessed of their institutions, and the usurpers not only refused to receive travellers who sought shelter in them but drove out the monks who had lived there from childhood and reduced them to beggary.[2] We learn these facts from a canon of the council of Meaux in 845 which distinctly demands the reorganisation of

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[1] Cf. HAUCK, *op. cit.*, p. 305. We have quoted above the phrase we have here in view " . . . ut nullus rapiat aliquid de rebus eorum nec ulla generatio praeter eorum generationem possideat *ecclesias eorum*" (MG, *Dipl. Kar.* ed. E. MÜLBACHER, I, No. 77, p. 111).

[2] Conc. Meldense, c. 40 (*Mansi*, XIV, 827-828): " Admonenda est regia magnitudo de hospitalibus, quae tempore praedecessorum suorum et ordinata et exculta fuerunt, et modo ad nihilum sunt redacta. Sed et hospitalia Scotorum, quae *sancti* homines gentis illius in hoc regno construxerunt, et rebus *pro sanctitate sua* acquisitis ampliaverunt, ab eodem hospitalitatis officio funditus sunt alienata. Et non solum supervenientes in eadem hospitalia non recipiuntur, verum etiam ipsi, qui ab infantia in eisdem locis sub religione Domini militaverunt, et exinde ejiciuntur, et ostiatim mendicare coguntur."

the Scottic hospices and their restitution to their lawful owners and administrators. At this council were present Wenilo, metropolitan of Sens, Hincmar of Rheims and their suffragans, Rudolf of Bourges, and some other bishops. The Fathers of the Council begged for the intervention of the king. That king was Charles the Bald, the best protector of the *Scotti* after Charles the Great; he was not deaf to this appeal, and, at the Diet of Epernay (846), he confirmed the measures taken at Meaux with a view to the re-establishment of the *hospitalia Scottorum.*[1]

The same beneficial episcopal intervention appears again in a letter of uncertain date addressed by the bishops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen to Louis the German, very probably at the time of his invasion of western France (858).[2] The drafting of this letter is attributed to Hincmar of Rheims. In it the bishops again claim the return of the Scottic establishments to their former use; then, in

[1] *Praef. Conc. Meld.*, (*Capit., Karoli* II, MG, *Leges*, I, p. 390-391).

[2] Cf. E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, Paris, 1903, II, p. 380.

addition, they request the monarch to see to it that the administrators submit themselves, as is prescribed by the canons and capitularies, to the jurisdiction of the bishops, who, they add, will in return show them the most kindly attention.[1]

From the middle of the ninth century, the Irish monasteries and hospices multiplied chiefly outside the Frankish kingdom of the west. The Scottic professor and poet Donatus († 864), having become bishop of Fiesole, gives, on 20th August, 850, to the monastery of Bobbio a church in the district of Piacenza, and to it was afterwards added a hospice for Irish pilgrims.[2] In 883, Charles the Fat erected in Rhaetia a *monasterium Scottorum* at Mount-Saint-Victor, the same place to which the Irish anchorite Eusebius had withdrawn twenty-nine years before. Two years later the same prince made over to this monastery the revenues of one of his villas for the maintenance of a hospice

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[1] PL, CXXVI, 17. Cf. L. Lallemand, *Histoire de la charité*, Paris, 1906, III, p. 183.

[2] G. Tononi, *Ospizio pei pellegrini irlandesi*, Strenna Piacentina, 1891; Cf. *Revue historique*, XLVIII, 1892, p. 128-124.

destined for twelve pilgrims on their way to Rome.[1]

In the tenth century the German monarchs studded their dominions with similar foundations. We find the Irish established about 945 at Saint-Michel-en-Tiérache and at Waulsort in the Ardennes.[2] The existence of Waulsort was officially recognised by a charter of Otto I, king of Germany, under date 19th September, 946. According to that document, the house was to remain the property of the *Scotti*, and a monk of that nationality was to be made abbot so long as there remained one in the community. This abbey was specially devoted to sheltering foreign travellers, whence it received the name of *monasterium peregrinorum*.[3]

The Scot Cadroë, abbot of Waulsort, having been called to Metz by bishop Adalbero I (929-964) in order to restore the monastery of Saint-Clement (953), was replaced by the Irishman Forannan. He negotiated with Theodoric, Adal-

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[1] RATPERT, *Casus S. Galli* (MG, *Script.*, II, 73). See the editor's note.

[2] *Boll.*, January, II, 749-751.

[3] MG, *Dipl.*, I, p. 160-161; Cf. LAHAYE. *Etude sur l'abbaye de Waulsort*, Liège, 1890, p. 11.

bero's successor, the annexation of the neighbouring abbey of Hastière to his monastery.[1]

Adalbero II (984-1005) showed himself not less inclined than his predecessors to confide to the islanders the monastic establishments of his diocese. "*Scotti et reliqui sancti peregrini semper sibi dulcissimi habebantur*," remarks Constantine of Saint-Symphorian, his biographer.[2] At that time the abbey of Saint-Clement had at its head the Irishman Fingen. Adalbero begged him to undertake also the government of Saint-Symphorian, which had been destroyed a long time before, probably by the Normans. Fingen restored that house and brought it within the Scottic influence. Two charters, one from Pope John XVII, the other from the emperor Otto III, ordered that only monks of Irish origin should be received there as long as that country supplied sufficient recruits.[3] Fingen ended his career as a reformer at Saint-Vanne of Verdun.

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[1] *Vita secunda Forannani*, c. 2 (*Boll.*, April, III, 827).

[2] *Vita Adalberonis* II (MG, *Script.*, IV, 668).

[3] D. CALMET, *Hist. de la Lorraine, Preuves*, p. 396, *Priv. Ottonis*, ". . . Regia denuo nostra munificentia donamus atque confirmamus ; ea videlicet ratione, ut abbas primus nomine Fingenius, Hiberniensis natione, quem ipse praelibatus episcopus [Adalbero] tunc temporis ibi constituit,

Seven of his companions had accompanied him there.[1]

At this same period Cologne also possessed an important Irish colony. In 975, Archbishop Eberger "immolated" to the Irish *in sempiternum* the monastery of Saint-Martin.[2] Marianus Scottus, who dwelt in this cloister from 1056 to 1058, has left us a *Chronicle*[3] the importance of which for the local history of that time is all the greater because the documents dealing

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suique successores, Hibernenses monachos habeant, quamdiu sic esse poterit ; et si defuerint ibi monachi de Hybernia, de quibuscumque nationibus semper ibi monachi habeantur . . ." See verses 110 and following of the Messin poem written by an Irishman, published by DÜMMLER in *Neues Archiv.*, V, p. 437.

[1] *Gesta Episcop. Virdunensium* (in CALMET, p. 202 ; MG, *Script.*, IV, p. 48). A strange liturgical combination was in practice at Toul under the bishopric of Gerard († 994). This prelate maintained a number of Greek and Scotic clerics who daily gathered in his oratory to perform the divine praises at different altars, *more patrio*. (WIDRIC, *Vita S. Gerardi*, 19 ; MG, *Script.*, IV, 501). Gerard's biographer reports, in chapter 22 (p. 503), an incident which testifies to the keen regret one of these *Scotti* felt at the bishop's death.

[2] MARIANUS SCOTTUS, *Chronicon*, ad an. 997 [CMLXXV] (PL, CXLVII, 780).

[3] The *Cod. Palatino-Vaticanus* Nr. 830, s. XI, is in the actual handwriting of Marianus (cf. G. WAITZ, *Procm. ad Chronic.*, in PL, *l.c.*, col. 601-604).

with the origin of the abbey of Saint-Martin have been, it is thought, falsified in the eighteenth century by a monk of that house, Dom Olivier Légipont.[1] Marianus gives the names of the abbots of Saint-Martin from 975 to 1061 : they are all Irish.[2] The *Chronicon* or *Catalogus Abbatum Sancti Martini Coloniensis* says also that, under the abbacy of Kilian (986-1003), Eberger, with the consent of the emperor Otto III, gave various goods to this monastery "*in usus monachorum peregrinorum*";[3] but this detail is probably invented, the *Catalogus* being precisely one of the documents which falls under the suspicion of having been forged. In the days of abbot Elias, another monastery of Cologne, that of Saint-Pantaleon, also passed in its turn into the hands of the Irish (1042).[4]

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[1] OPPERMANN, *Kritische Studien zur älteren Kölner Geschichte* (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift f. Gesch. u. Kunst*, XIX, 1900, p. 271-344). See the supplementary note of D. URSMER BERLIÈRE in *Archives Belges*, April, 1901, p. 89-91. It has also been published in the *Revue Bénéd.*, XVIII., 1901, p. 424-427.

[2] *Chronic.*, *l.c.*, col. 780-787.

[3] MG, *Script.*, II, p. 215.

[4] MARIAN. SCOT., *Chron.*, ad an. 1064 [MXLII], *l.c.*, col. 784.

In the eleventh century, the *Scotti* were welcomed even outside their own monasteries with very special interest. They were considered to be saintly people, and the work which they executed with their pens for their hosts contributed to make their visits appreciated.[1] Under the abbacy of Richard († 1034) they were received with extreme kindness at Fulda. A special warming-place and dormitory were reserved for their use, and during their stay the abbot watched over them with paternal care.[2] At that period, it is true, there were no longer to be seen in the bands of emigrants those justly suspected adventurers whose boldness of manner and speech the founder of Fulda had had to suppress. On the contrary, one might often see an ascetic who, escaping from groups of his countrymen, would come to some cloister in the far recesses of Germany to beg for the shelter of a narrow cell where he might dwell alone till death.

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[1] *Vita Mariani Ratispon.*, 2. 11 (*Boll.*, February, II, 367).

[2] "Hic [Richardus] etiam multos *sanctos* Scottigenae gentis viros in commune fratrum habebat, atque caminatam et dormitorium ipsis seorsum simul et inter fratres subministrabat sicut pater." (MARIAN. SCOT., *Chron.*, ad an. [MXXXIX], *l.c.*, col. 784.

X.—The Recluses

FROM the very beginning of monasticism in Ireland, a strong tendency is noticeable towards the life of an anchorite. It was not unusual to see pious cenobites, in the very bloom of manhood or its decline, retire "to the desert" or "to a hard prison of stone," as their biographers express it, in order to give themselves up entirely to absolute contemplation.[1] This is what, among others, St. Fintan of Rheinau (†878) did. Captured and carried off by the Vikings, he escapes from them in the Orkneys, trusts himself to the ocean, lands among the Picts, accomplishes in fulfilment of a vow a pilgrimage *ad limina*, then, on his way back, takes up his abode at the monastery of Rheinau, near to Schaffhausen, and there passes in a cell the remaining twenty-two years of his mortal life.[2]

[1] G. T. STOKES and H. J. LAWLOR, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, London, 1907, p. 178; WHITLEY STOKES, *The Martyrology of Oengus*, London, 1906, p. 45, 320; WHITLEY STOKES, *Cuimmin's poem on the Saints of Ireland* (*Zeit. f. celtische Philol.*, I. 1897, p. 59-73).

[2] *Vita Findani*, 7, 10 (MG. *Script.*, XV, 504-505).

During the eleventh century this practice of asceticism increased. Fulda in turn sheltered two recluses: Animchad († 1043)[1] and the chronicler Marianus himself, who dwelt in seclusion there from 1059 to 1069.[2] By the orders of the abbot of Fulda and the bishop of Mainz he was transferred to Mainz where, under the same conditions, he closed his earthly exile.[3] At Paderborn, in Westphalia, it is the Scottic Paternus who allows himself to be burned to death in his "*clausola*" when the city was destroyed by fire, after he had spent many years in seclusion in it (1058).[4]

When the namesake of the recluse of Fulda and Mainz, Marianus Scottus of Ratisbon, arrived in Bavaria, about 1075, he met a fellow-countryman called Murcherat (Murcheratus), apparently a Latinising of the royal name of Leinster—Murrough—now Anglicised into Murphy, who was also dwelling there in solitude.[5] One of his travelling companions,

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[1] MAR. SCOT., *Chron.* (*l.c.*, col. 784-785).
[2] *Ibid.*, col. 786.
[3] *Ibid.*, col. 789.
[4] *Ibid.*, col. 786.
[5] *Vita Mariani Ratisp.*, c. 3 (*l.c.*, p. 368).

John, was also seized, after a while, with a desire to lead an anchorite's life. He set out from Bavaria, penetrated into the valley of the Danube, passed through Melk, where Henry II, the Saint, had raised a tomb some time before to the Irish saint Coloman, assassinated in 1012 at Stockerau,[1] and finally found at Göttweig, in the March of Austria, the ideal cell in which he expired.[2]

The first intention of this second Marianus Scottus was to make the pilgrimage to Rome; but the welcome he received at Ratisbon, the advice of the hermit Murcherat, and the offer that was made to him of the priory of Weih St. Peter detained him and his companions in the Bavarian city. They formed the original core of a congregation which, despite some interruptions and many vicissitudes, was to continue almost to our own day, the so-called

[1] *Passio S. Cholomanni* (MG, *Script.*, IV, 675).

[2] *Vita Mariani*, c. 3 *in fine* (*l.c.*, p. 368). Let us remember that in the preceding pages mention has already been made of three other Irish recluses: Arnanus at Cahors, Dungal at Saint-Denis, and Eusebius at Mount Saint-Victor, in the neighbourhood of Röthis (Vorarlberg).

Scotch Benedictine congregation (*Schottenkongregation*) of which the Superior-General was the abbot of Saint-James of Ratisbon.[1]

The building of Saint-James's was started about 1090 with the assistance of the burgrave Otto and with contributions from the neighbouring gentry and rich burgesses of the city in order to provide shelter for the Scottic monks whose number had rapidly increased.[2] A letter written by the growing community to Wratislaw, King of Bohemia, has reached us. The monks ask this prince for an escort for messengers they propose to send into Russia.[3] This mission was accomplished. The biographer of Marianus reports, in effect, that the monk Maurice penetrated as far as Kiev;

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[1] Cf. *Kirchenlexicon*, at the word: *Schottenklöster*, Vol. X, col. 1905-1907.

[2] THOMAS RIED, *Codex historico-diplomaticus episcopatus Ratisbonensis*, Ratisbonae, 1816, Nrs. 178 and 184 (I, 166, 171); FERD. JANNER, *Geschichte der Bischöfe von Regensburg*, Regensburg, 1883, I, 566, 570, 602, 603; G. A. RENZ, *Beiträge zur Geschichte de Schottenabtei St. Jakob und des Priorates Weih St. Peter in Regensburg* (*Studien u. Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner u. dem Cistercienser-Orden*, XVI, 1895, p. 64 s.); *Regesten*, *ib.*, p. 250 s.

[3] PEZ, *Thes. Anecd.*, VI, I, p. 291. Cf. RENZ, *Regesten* p. 252.

that the king and nobles of the country presented him with precious furs with which he loaded several chariots, and that he returned, safe and sound, to his monastery under the protection of traders of Ratisbon. The narrator adds that it was with the price obtained for these furs that the cloisters and roof of the monastery were built.[1]

We have now reached our proposed limit. It is undoubtedly a reasonable one. The foundation of Saint-James's of Ratisbon opens a new period in the history of the monastic establishments of the *Scotti* on the continent, a period far less interesting, far less bustling than the one we have described. Henceforward Germany is the only country towards which the tide of religious migration flows, and the number of emigrants grows ceaselessly fewer. The

[1] *Vita Mariani*, c. 4 (*l.c.*, p. 369). On the Irish monks at Kiev, see L. ABRAHAM'S study: *Mnisi irlandzcy w Kijowie* (*Bulletin internat. de l'Académie des sciences de Cracovie*, No. 7, July, 1901, p. 137). A. PARCZEROSKI'S work, *Poczathi chrystjanismu w Polsce i Misya Irlandska* (*The Beginnings of Christianity in Poland and the Irish Mission*), ext. from *Annuaire de la Soc. des sciences de Posen*, 1902, would appear to be founded, to judge by M. Louis Léger's report of it in the *Rev. celt.* (XXVI, 1905. p. 389), on documents that are often of questionable value.

Scotch, under cover of the actual sameness of their name in Latin (*Scotti*) with that of the old Irish, succeeded in passing themselves off as the real founders of the *monasteria Scottorum*, and gradually displaced the Irish in those places where German monks had not already installed themselves.[1]

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[1] *De B. Mariano*, I, *Scotorum in Germania Monasteria*; *Boll.*, February, II, 361, 362; *Kirchenlexicon*, *l.c.*, col. 1906.

SECOND PART

THE PLACE OF IRISH SAINTS IN CONTINENTAL RELIGIOUS FOLKLORE

The Place of Irish Saints in Continental Religious Folklore

MANY a territory of continental Europe has preserved traces of the passage across it of Irish saints. The abbey of Luxeuil, founded by St. Columban in 585, was, in Merovingian times, as we have already shown in Part I, a veritable nursery of abbots, bishops, and missionaries. Two of the most celebrated monasteries of the early middle ages, the two most important centres of the learning and the intellectual work of the period, Bobbio and Saint-Gall, owe their existence to Irishmen, Bobbio to the same Columban, and Saint-Gall to the first disciples of St. Gall, who has left his name to a town and canton of the Swiss Confederation.

The diocese of Wurzburg placed itself under the patronage of another Irishman, St. Kilian; in a like manner Lower Austria adopted St. Coloman as its patron. The tomb of St. Fursa at Péronne drew numbers of his fellow-countrymen to that hallowed spot, which, as late as

the tenth century, was still known as *Perrona Scottorum*.

For close upon four hundred years Irish saints, filled with burning missionary zeal, laboured incessantly to spread the Christian faith and monastic discipline in Gaul, Belgium, Alsace, in Alemannia, Franconia, in Italy, along the course of the Danube, and down the valley of the Rhine.

Without doubt Ireland has continued to be a land of high Christian renown; but at no period of her history, not even when she lay quivering under the appalling cruelty of the Penal Laws, did she more fully deserve the name of *the* Island of Saints, which has been bestowed on her.

In the first part of this work we have retraced the story of the wonderful activity of the Irish on the European continent from the sixth to the twelfth century, a story which in its main features is well known.[1] It will now be of interest to go in search of such traces as

[1] See W. Levison, *Die Iren und die fränkische Kirche* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CIX, 1912, p. 1-22), our *Chrétientés celtiques*, Paris, 1911, ch. V, *Les expansions irlandaises*, and *supra* (Part I).

these strangers have left in the traditions and customs of the people of the districts they were wont to overrun and of the localities in which they founded lasting establishments. Pilgrimages and devotions still carried out in the sanctuaries which preserve, or claim to preserve, their relics; prayers in which their names are invoked; local sayings in which their names appear; country fairs and feasts in which their memory is perpetuated, such will be the matter brought together in the following pages.

The late Miss Margaret Stokes devoted herself with zeal to seeking for traces of the insular *peregrini* in France and Italy, and she has blazed the trail for later archæologists and lovers of folklore. Her two books, *Six Months in the Apennines in Search of the Vestiges of Irish Saints in Italy* (London, 1892), and *Three Months in the Forests of France; a Pilgrimage in search of Vestiges of the Irish Saints in France* (London, 1895), may claim the merit of resting on an abundant and picturesque documentation obtained on the very spots made illustrious by the presence of the saints of Ireland. Nevertheless, they are open to the criticism of being

somewhat capriciously composed; and, above all, of an inclination to put too frequently mere legend in the place of history. True it is that it would be impossible to handle such a subject of religious folklore as the one with which we are dealing without taking stock of its legendary characteristics; but, while giving full value to the influence legend has played in the development of popular beliefs, devotions, and customs, we must guard against placing it on the same level with historic truth. It shall be our care to avoid running on that rock.

I.—The Three Great National Saints

THE three patrons and wonder-workers to whom, from the very beginning, Ireland consecrated a most special worship of love are St. Patrick, the apostle of that island, the virgin of Kildare, St. Brigid, and St. Columcille, the abbot of Iona.

St. Patrick had travelled through Gaul, but it was only in Ireland that he carried out his apostleship. His cult was, however, introduced to continental countries by the very first missionaries from beyond the seas. His *natalis*, on the 17th March, a birthday which has remained, above all save one, sacred to every son of Erin, was celebrated as early as the seventh century at Luxeuil, at Péronne, and at Fosses in Belgium; at Echternach, Corbie, Nivelles and Reichenau probably from the very foundation of those abbeys. The celebration of the 17th March can be proved at Trèves and at Landévennec in Britanny in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[1]

[1] *Vita Gertrudis* (MG., *Script. rer. merov.*, II, p. 462-463) (for Fosses); L. GOUGAUD, art. *Celtiques* (*liturgies*), in the

When we realise the antiquity and wide spreading of this liturgical devotion, we are the less surprised that popular piety should in its turn have seized upon this foreign saint in order to make of him one of its most beloved heroes. Many churches and monasteries boasted that they possessed some of his relics: Saint-Pierre of Rheims, Lisieux, Issoudun, Pfäffers in Switzerland, Lumiar near Lisbon. The village of Neubronn, half a league from Hohenstadt, near Aalen (Wurtemberg), possesses a statue of the saint which is greatly venerated throughout the district.[1] In Upper Styria,[2] Patrick is invoked as protector of cattle; elsewhere prayer is said to him to obtain the cure of the deaf

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Dict. d'archéol. by Cabrol et Leclercq, col. 3005 (for Luxeuil, Nivelles, Reichenau, Landévennec); BR. KRUSCH, *Chronologisches aus Handschriften* (*Neues Archiv*, X, 1885, p. 92) (for Corbie); *The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. H. A. WILSON (H. Bradshaw Society), London, 1918, p. 5 (for Echternach); P. MIESGES, *Der Trier Festkalender* (*Trierisches Archiv*, Ergänzungsheft XV, 1915, p. 38); KUNO MEYER, *Verses from a chapel dedicated to St. Patrick at Péronne* (*Ériu*, V, 1911, p. 100).

[1] A. BIRLINGER, *Aus Schwaben: Sagen, Legenden, Aberglauben, Sitten*, Wiesbaden, 1874, p. 67-68.

[2] RICHARD ARDREE, *Votive Weihgaben des katholischen Volks in Suddeutschland*, Braunschweig, 1904, p. 38.

and dumb.[1] According to a Breton saying, whoever kills an earwig with his finger gets the saint's blessing.[2] This, no doubt, is attributable to the undying belief which insists that the apostle of Ireland drove out of that island snakes and all poisonous creatures.

Irishmen held strange opinions about their saints. They had not the least hesitation in assigning to them the most extraordinary functions and in conferring on them the very first places in the ranks of the Blessed. Thus the belief that St. Patrick would be called upon to judge all Irishmen at the last day took firm root among them.[3] As to Brigid of Kildare, Irish devotion went so far as to confound her

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[1] See *The Tablet* of 29 March, 1890, p. 486, and *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, X, 1890, p. 9 and 97.

[2] " An hini a lac'h eur garlosten gand e vis
En eus bennoz zant Patris."

(E. ERNAULT, *Dictons et proverbes bretons*, in *Mélusine*, XI, col. 310).

[3] *Book of Armagh*, fol. 8a (Cf. *The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, ed. WHITLEY STOKES, London, 1887, p. 296); *Liber Angeli, ibid.*, p. 355; *Adamnan's Second Vision* (*Revue celtique*, XII, p. 420); Homily on St. Patrick in the *Lebar Breac* (*Trip. Life*, p. 477); *Ninine's Prayer* (*The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. BERNARD and ATKINSON, London, 1898, II, p. 36); *Tripart. Life*, p. 31, 258-261.

with the Mother of God : her devotees addressed her as "the Mary of the Gaels" and even "Mother of Jesus," [1]

The saint of Kildare enjoys a remarkable popularity through all western Europe. There is no doubt, moreover, that this popularity is due to the very intense propaganda carried on in favour of their national saints by Irish monks, missionaries, and *peregrini* wherever they penetrated.

A German writer of the thirteenth century, Nicholas of Bibra, scoffs at certain whims of these foreigners, and notably at the exaggerations into which they were led by their unlimited admiration for the saints of their race. He writes thus of the *Scotti* who in his time still dwelt in the abbey of Saint-James at Erfurt :

> Sunt et ibi Scoti, qui, cum fuerint bene poti,
> Sanctum Brandanum proclamant esse decanum
> In grege sanctorum, vel quod Deus ipse deorum
> Brandani frater sit et eius Brigida mater.

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[1] See *Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 261 ; G. L. HAMILTON, *The Sources of the Fates of the Apostles and Andreas* (*Modern Language Notes*, XXXV, 1920, p. 304).

Sed vulgus miserum non credens hoc fore verum
Estimat insanos Scotos simul atque profanos
Talia dicentes. . .[1]

The Erfurt satirist goes on to say, if you challenge these *Scotti* to explain their quaint theological marvels, they would simply allege in their justification the words of the Saviour: "*Mater mea et fratres mei hi sunt qui verbum Dei audiunt et faciunt*" (Luke viii, 21), and they would close the discussion with:

Sic Brigidam matrem, Brandanum dicite fratrem,
Nam perfecerunt quecunque Deo placuerunt.

The festival of St. Brigid was kept on the 1st of February in the eighth century at Reichenau and at Echternach, in the ninth century at Nivelles and perhaps at Rheinau,[2]

[1] NICOLAUS DE BIBERA, *Carmen satiricum*, ed. TH. FISCHER (*Geschichtsquellen der Provinz Sachsen*, I, 1870, c. 1550-1565, p. 90). Cf. WINTERFELD, *Deutsche Dichter*, p. 420-430.

[2] See my article *Celtiques* (*liturgies*), *Dict. Archéol.* cited, col. 3005; *The Calendar of St. Willibrord*, ed. WILSON, p. 4; L. DELISLE, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, p. 311; the fragment of the calendar contained in the Codex Rhenaug. Nr. 30 of Zurich was brought from Nivelles to Rheinau by St. Fintan. Cf. E. EGLI, *Das sog. Fintan-Martyrologium* (*Anzeiger f. schweizerische Geschichte*, New series, VI, 1890-1893, p. 136-141); EM. MUNDING, *Das Verzeichnis der St. Galler Heiligenleben und ihrer Handschriften*, Beuron, 1918, p. 119.

and in the tenth century at Saint-Gall. In order to follow the development of her cult, whether official or merely popular, it is only necessary to let the eye roam over the map of Irish establishments on the continent.[1] It will then be seen that wherever Brigid had been venerated there had been either an Irish religious foundation or an Irish colony.

In the district of Saint-Omer, a *Scotti* zone of influence,[2] the peasants, "to serve St. Brigid," go to a church possessing a statue of the saint (at Wavrans-sur-l'Aa, at Givenchy-le-Noble, at Leubringhen, at Norbecourt, at Lumbres, at Saint-Denis of Saint-Omer), when they need her help to obtain the cure of their cattle.[3] The Wallon peasantry also come to invoke the saint's aid for their live stock in the chapel dedicated to her which looks down on the town of Fosses, which place itself owes its origin to an abbey founded there in the seventh century by the Irish St. Foillan. The pilgrims

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[1] See map at the end of my *Chrétientés celtiques*.

[2] *Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 149; W. Levison, *Die Iren*, p. 5.

[3] A communication made by the abbé E. Guibert, author of a pamphlet on the local devotion to St. Brigid in the Saint-Omer district, published at Saint-Omer in 1921.

present wands to be blessed, and then with them touch the sick animals.[1] Liège, where an Irish colony existed in the ninth century,[2] possesses a church under the name of the saint of Kildare.[3]

The building of the parochial church of Saint-Brigid (now destroyed) at Cologne goes back to the period in which the abbeys of Saint-Martin and of Saint-Pantaleon fell to the *Scotti* (tenth and eleventh centuries).[4] This church of Saint-Brigid actually adjoined the first of these abbeys.[5] Four other parochial churches and seven chapels of the diocese of Cologne are dedicated to the virgin of Kildare, under whose protection the local farmers place

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[1] CAHIER, *Caractéristiques des saints*, p. 140. On the other churches and chapels dedicated to St. Brigid in Belgium, see T. A. WALSH, *Irish Saints in Belgium* (*Ecclesiastical Review*, XXXIX, 1908, p. 133-134).

[2] *Chrétientés celt.*, p. 165, 289-290.

[3] JOSEPH BRASSINE, *Analecta Leodiensia*, Liège, 1907, p. 82.

[4] *Chrétientés celt.*, p. 170-171.

[5] K. H. SCHAEFER, *Kirchen und Christentum in dem spätrömischen und frühmittelalterlichen Köln* (*Annalen d. hist. Ver. f. den Niederrhein*, XCVIII, 1916, p. 111). The church of Saint-Martin of Cologne possesses relics of the saint. She was venerated at Trèves from the tenth century (MIESGES, *op. cit.*, p. 26).

their domestic animals.[1] At Mainz there were a chapel and benefice of Saint-Brigid. They were attached to the ancient church of Saint-Paul, which is described as being a *Schottenkirche*. The chapel stood in the Altenmünstergasse.[2]

Speaking of the collegiate church of Saint-Pierre-le-Vieux, Grandidier writes in his *Histoire de l'église et des évêques de Strasbourg*: "On the 1st of February the relics of St. Brigid of Kildare are reverenced there. In our own day they still call certain 'cantons' which belong to the collegiate church the *dîmes* (tithes) of Saint-Brigid, not because, as some papers appear to assert, they were given to the church of Honau by that saint, but because the Scotch or Irish who came to dwell in it brought there from their own land a portion of her relics, and this led the people to honour with the name of Saint Brigid the property they consecrated to her. The canons of Saint-Pierre-le-Vieux [at

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[1] L. KORTH, *Die Patrocinien der Kirchen und Kapellen in Erzbistum Köln*, Düsseldorf, 1904, p. 39 s.; ADAM WREDE, *Rheinische Volkskunde*, Leipzig, 1919, p. 155.

[2] F. J. BODMANN, *Rheingauische Alterthümer*, Mainz, 1819, II, p. 593.

Strasburg] have under their control the loaves of Saint-Brigid, and their best wines also bear the 'rubric' of this saint."[1]

The church of Saint-Michael at Schotten, a town in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, and taking its name from a colony of *Scotti*, has one of its altars dedicated to St. Brigid and another to the Breton saint Josse, or Judoc.[2]

The archives of the church of Liestal, near Basle, preserve indications of donations made to St. Brigid at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and of a *lumen sanctae Brigidae*.[3] A document of the year 1507 counts the abbess of Kildare among the patrons of that church, and another, dated 1608, mentions a "Gotteshaus Sankt Prigithae zu Liestal." By what channel did this devotion from Ireland reach Liestal? "It is a mystery for me," declares the author

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[1] GRANDIDIER, *Histoire de l'église et des évêques de Strasbourg*, Strasbourg, 1778, I, p. 406.

[2] S. A. WÜRDTWEIN, *Diocesis Moguntina in archidiaconatus distincta*, Mannhemii, 1777, III, p. 87; HEBER, *Die neun vormaligen Schottenkirchen in Mainz und in Oberhessen* (*Archiv. f. hessische Geschichte u. Alterthumskunde*, IX, 1861, p. 319-348).

[3] A perpetual fire was kept up at Kildare in honour of St. Brigid till the Reformation.

of a recent study on the saints and churches of Basle.[1] However, without falling back on the abbey of Saint-Gall, which is at a considerable distance from Liestal,[2] in order to solve this problem, we may mention the neighbouring abbey of Säckingen, which is held to be of Irish foundation, and also, at some distance higher up the Rhine, the abbey of Rheinau, where dwelt St. Fintan.

The liturgical books of Genoa bear witness that devotion to St. Brigid flourished also in Liguria. The proximity of Bobbio might furnish a natural explanation of this fact, but Signor Cambiaso presents us with another in his work *L'Anno ecclesiastico e le feste dei santi in Genova*, published in 1917. This cult would appear to have been transplanted to this region

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[1] KARL GAUSS, *Die Heiligen der Gotteshäuser von Baselland* (*Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, II, 1902, p. 152-153.)

[2] The late Father A. Poncelet, a Bollandist, noticed that a legend which took deep root at the abbey of Saint-Gall made St. Brigid a relative of St. Gall himself (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XXIII, 1904, p. 335). The Abbey of Pfävers, or Pfäffers, (canton of Saint-Gall, Switzerland) was possessed of relics of St. Brigid and of other Irish saints. See E. A. STUECKELBERG, *Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz*, Zürich, 1902. p. 7-8.

by the Canons Regular of the Lateran, who reckon St. Brigid among their canonesses.[1] It is a fact, however strange it may appear, that the Canons Regular claim that St. Patrick was one of their Order, and likewise that St. Brigid sanctified herself in the same institution.[2]

Mention has already been made of vineyards and other lands consecrated to our saint. The peasantry of Amay, a village between Huy and Liège, still believe that the blessed earth of St. Brigid cures cattle and drives away from their stables wicked people and witches. "So great is this belief that the earth is sprinkled around for a distance of ten leagues." [3]

Saint Brigid, who is invoked in the Irish prayer of Saint Moling as the protectress of travellers, is similarly honoured in a German *Reisesegen* of the fifteenth century.[4] Her name

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[1] CAMBIASO, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

[2] See the article *Canons and Canonesses regular* by the Right Rev. A. ALLARIA, abbot of San Teodoro at Genoa, in the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, col. 290-291.

[3] AUGUSTE HOCK, *Croyances et remèdes populaires du pays de Liège*, Liège [1873], p. 84. On the "*campestria pulcherrima, quae Brigidae vocantur*," in Ireland, see GIRALDUS CAMBR., *Topographia hibernica*, p. 206.

[4] A. SCHOENBACH, *Zum Tobiassegen* (*Zeitschrift für*

also occurs in the formulas of blessings against bad weather.[1]

In the country parts of Britanny the popularity of St. Brigid is still shown in various ways.[2] Some years ago there was, in one of the "chapelles frairiales" of Morbihan dedicated to her, a very old wooden statue, all worm-eaten, with the well-known emblems of the Irish saint. In order to replace it, the rector purchased a new statue, in fine plaster, with gilt trimmings, representing St. Bridget of Sweden. The people of the "frairie" protested: "They have changed our Sainte Bréhet; we won't have this one, and we shall bring her no offerings." They were as good as their word. The purveyor of the chapel sent in his resignation.[3]

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deutsches Altertum, XXIV, p. 185). Cf. L. Gougaud, *Etude sur les loricae celtiques* (*Bulletin d'anc. lit. et d'archéol. chrétienne*, II, 1912, p. 125).

[1] Ad. Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen*, Freiburg i. Br., 1909, p. 100, 101, 104.

[2] See A. Le Braz, *Les saints bretons d'après la tradition populaire* (*Annales de Bretagne*, IX, 1893-1894, p. 44 s.); Paul Sébillot, *Petite légende dorée de la Haute-Bretagne*, Nantes, 1897, p. 115 s.

[3] I have these details from the Very Rev. Canon Buleon, parish priest of the cathedral of Vannes, who kindly sent them to me the 6th November, 1921.

Saint Columba, or Columcille, abbot of Iona (†597), was less known on the continent than the preceding two. Nevertheless Adamnan, his biographer and successor, affirms that by the end of the seventh century his name had already penetrated into Spain, the Gauls, beyond the Pennine Alps, and even as far as Rome, capital of all cities.[1] Furthermore, the name of the holy Abbot is inscribed in the calendar of St. Willibrord, which dates from the first years of the eighth century, on the 9th of June, the day of his *natalis*. The editor of this calendar, the Rev. H. A. Wilson, remarks that this commemoration is probably due to St. Willibrord's relations with Ireland, where he spent a dozen years of his life.[2] The name of this saint is found associated with various superstitious practices against storms, fires, and field rats. Here is a charm which has been preserved for us in a manuscript of the fourteenth century in the library of Munich :

Contra tempestatem isti tres versus
scribantur in cedulas quatuor et ponantur

[1] *Vita Columbae*, III, 23, ed. Fowler, p. 164-165.
[2] WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

subter terram in quatuor partes provincie :
† sancte Columquille, remove mala queque procelle,
† ut tunc orasti, de mundo quando migrasti,
† quod tibi de celis promisit vox Michaelis.[1]

Adamnan certainly speaks of the power the saint obtained from heaven to command the winds, a power he used in various circumstances ; but he nowhere says that this privilege was conferred on him by the Archangel Michael.[2]

There exist very interesting variants of the preceding formula. One runs as follows :

Sancte Columquille, remove dampna favilla (*sic*),
Atque Columquillus salvet ab igne domus.[3]

As will be observed, it is against fire that St. Columcille is here invoked. According to Irish legend, it would in fact appear that he put out a conflagration by singing the hymn *Noli pater*,

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[1] A. SCHOENBACH, *Eine Auslese altdeutscher Segensformeln* (*Analecta Graeciensia*, Graz. 1893, p. 45) (Cod. lat. Monacensis 7021, xiv s.).

[2] *Vita Columbae*, III, 24, p. 163. On another occasion the storm was calmed in response to a prayer of St. Cainnech (II, 13, p. 82-83).

[3] Ms. of Pembroke College, Oxford (fourteenth century). MOWAT, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Mediaeval and Modern Series), Oxford, 1882, p. 3.

the composition of which has been attributed to him.[1]

A sixteenth century manuscript, preserved in the library of Linköping, in Sweden, gives the following formula :

> Sancta Kakwkylla
> remove dampnosa facilla vel favilla
> quod tibi de celis
> concessit vox micaelis.[2]

In this charm, which is evidently inspired by the one at Munich, the word *favilla* has, as in the previous one, been substituted for *procella* ; furthermore, a female saint, not otherwise known, Sancta Kakwkylla, has ousted St. Columcille. This new personage has never ceased to puzzle folklorists.[3] Now they know that this name, absolutely unknown elsewhere, arises from the written distortion of that of Columcille. This distortion took place in Germany. What proves this to be the case is,

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[1] Preface to the *Noli Pater* in the *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, cited ed. II, p. 28.

[2] A. G. Noreen, *Altschwedisches Lesebuch*, Halle, 1892-1894, p. 98 s. (Nr. 180).

[3] W. Drexler, *Noch einmal Sancta Kakukabilla-Cutubilla* (*Zeit. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, VIII, 1898, p. 341-342). Cf. H. Gaidoz in *Mélusine*, XI, col. 3.

in the first place, the following recipe against rats :

> Fur die ratzen schreib dise wort an vier ort in das haws
> " Sanctus Kakukabilla," [1]

and, in the second place, it is the statue of the saint (here the change of sex has taken place) which appears on the altar of the church of the ancient monastery of Saint-Ulrich at Adelberg, in Wurtemberg, and which bears the inscription *Cutubilla.* A painting at Zeitldorn, in Lower Bavaria, represents the same mysterious female saint. In both cases St. Cutubilla has two mice at her feet.[2]

As the name of the abbot of Iona was in Latin written Columcilla, as is seen by its inscription in the calendar of St. Willibrord, it must have been thought that this name denoted a female saint. This is how the intruder *Cutubilla* or *Kakwkylla* has become in German folklore a rival to St. Gertrude of Nivelles for the destruction of mice, rats, and field-mice.[3]

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[1] W. DREXLER, *loc. cit.*

[2] HEINRICH OTTE, *Handbuch der kirchlichen Kunst-Archaeologie des deutschen Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1883, I, p. 566 ; R. ANDREE, *Votive Weihgaben*, p. 16 ; J. ZINGERLE in the *Zeitsch. des Ver. f. Volkskunde*, I, p. 444.

[3] DREXLER, *loc. cit.*; R. ANDREE, *loc. cit.*

II.—St. Brendan the Navigator

WHEN and under what form was the marvellous story of the fabled voyages of St. Brendan carried to the continent? It is not easy to answer this question with precision. The oldest known version of the legend appears to be the *Navigatio Brendani*, a Latin composition which dates back to the tenth or eleventh century. The Benedictine chronicler Raoul Glaber, who lived in the eleventh century, was already acquainted with St. Brendan's Odyssey.[1] The most ancient Anglo-Norman versified adaptation of the *Navigatio* dates from *c.* 1121, and the *Von Sente Brandan*, the oldest German version, likewise goes back to the twelfth century.[2] Subsequently the *Navigatio* was translated in prose and verse into almost every tongue of the West.

It is very probable that the Irish, who were

[1] RAOUL GLABER, *Historiarum libri quinque*, II, 2 (Migne, P.L., CXLII, p. 629 s.). See CARL STEINWEG, *Die handschriftlichen Gestaltungen der lateinischen Navigatio Brendani* (*Romanische Forschungen*, VII, 1893, p. 1 s.).

[2] W. MEYER, *Die Ueberlieferung der deutschen Brandan legende*, Göttingen, 1918, p. 125.

scattered a little in every part, laboured to spread the report of the adventures of the bold sailor whom they promoted to the dignity of "dean of the assembly of Saints," and even to be the brother of Christ.[1] But the wonderful yarns of which St. Brendan was the hero were not received favourably everywhere. There has come down to us a thirteenth century poem in which these wild excesses of the imagination are severely handled. The authors of these fairy tales would, in the opinion of the anonymous author of this piece, be far better employed in spending their time copying out the Psalms of David or in reciting them in atonement for their own sins or those of their brethren than by stuffing them with such nonsense :

> Expediret magis fratrem psallos David scribere
> Vel pro suis atque fratrum culpis Deo psallere
> Quam scripturis tam impuris idiotas fallere.[2]

[1] See above. One may still read, in an Irish poem of the eleventh century, these words addressed to St. Brendan : "Ancient Rome, full of delights, and Tours remain under thy protection, etc." (KUNO MEYER, *Ein mittelirisches Gedicht auf Brendan den Meerfahrer*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Berlin, Cl. of philos. and hist., XXV, 1912, p. 440).

[2] Ed. PAUL MEYER in *Romania*, XXXI, 1902, p. 378 ; ed. CH. PLUMMER, in *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxonii, 1910, II, p. 294.

St. Brendan, whose legend filled so large a space in the literature of the middle ages, has enjoyed only an insignificant part in the popular traditions of continental countries. In the cathedral of Güstrow (Mecklenburg-Schwerin) the saint is represented holding a candle, which, according to legend, one day spontaneously lit itself. In 1495, during a conflagration which broke out at Wittstock, the people of the district, whose trades necessitated the use of fire, made a vow to celebrate yearly the saint's festival on the 29th of December.[1] As the reader may have possibly guessed, the association of the name of Brendan with the flame of a candle and with the conflagration at Wittstock arose simply from the likeness existing between the name of the saint, which in German is written *Brandan* or *Brandon*, and the word *Brand*, *i.e.* fire, a word which in French has produced the vocable " brandon."

In the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, St. Brendan still enjoyed great popularity in the German provinces along the Baltic coast. It has been ascertained that the name *Brandanus* or *Brandanies* was often given in

[1] H. Otte, *op. cit.*, I. p. 563.

baptism to children of all ranks, nobles, the professional classes, merchants, mechanics and peasants.

At Güstrow and its neighbourhood, St. Brendan's day (*in sunte Brandanins daghe, am dage S. Brandani*) appears in fifteenth century contracts as a popular date just like Michaelmas and the Feast of St. Martin in other countries. In these regions it was even customary to keep a triple feast of St. Brendan, one on the 15th, 16th, or 17th May, according to local particularities of the calendar, another after the Whitsuntide festival, and the third on 29th December.[1]

Some Mss. preserved in continental libraries contain an *Oratio Brendani*, composed on the lines of the Irish *loricae*. This prayer, of a very pronounced superstitious flavour, appears to have enjoyed some popularity in the middle ages.[2] St. Brendan was invoked by persons bitten by snakes. His name appears also in the formulas of ordeals by use of the Psalter.[3]

[1] GROTEFEND, *Das Fest des heiligen Brandanus* (*Korrespondenzblatt des Gesammtvereins der deutschen Geschichts und Altertumsvereine*, 57th year, 1909, 395-396).

[2] See my *Etude sur les loricae celtiques* (*Bul. d'anc. lit. et d'archéol. chrét.*, 1911, p. 265 s.).

[3] MG., *Formulae*, ed. ZEUMER, Nr. 672. Cf. A. FRANZ, *Benediktionen*, II, p. 174, 363, 391.

III.—The Missionary Monks: Saint Columban and Saint Gall

SAINT COLUMBAN left the imprint of his own strong character upon the monks who had passed beneath his severe discipline. After his death, his influence continued to make itself felt through the agency of his numerous disciples, many of whom played a rôle of the first importance in the Church and worldly society of the eighth century.[1]

Columban overran Neustria and Austrasia, visited the banks of the Loire, Marne, and Rhine, and crossed Switzerland on his way to die at Bobbio in Italy in the year 615. It is there he lies buried.

The abbeys of Pfäffers and Einsiedeln in Switzerland possess relics of the saint.[2] The emperor Henry II caused an altar in the cathedral of Bamberg to be placed under his name

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[1] See above, and *Chrét. celtiques*, p. 148 s.; LEVISON, *Die Iren*. p. 6.

[2] STUECKELBERG, *Geschichte der Reliquien in der Schweiz*, p. 7, 8, 13.

and an altar of the abbatial church of Hirschau, in the diocese of Spires, was in 1091 dedicated " to the holy fathers Benedict, Columba, Columban, Gall and Magnus." [1]

Verses in honour of St. Columban appear in the *tituli* which Raban Maur composed for the church of Fulda.[2] A cave, situated in a lofty position about 1,500 metres north-east of Annegray, is credited with having once served as a hermitage for the Irish saint. It still bears his name, and the water which flows at the foot of the rock is held to be miraculous.[3]

The memory of St. Columban remains also attached to two other caves in the neighbourhood of Bobbio. One of these is in the mountain at La Spanna. According to popular tradition, the saint had the habit of retiring there from time to time. A hollow is shown on the face of the rock which the countryfolk believe

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[1] ST. BEISSEL, *Die Verehrung der Heiligen und ihrer Reliquien in Deutschland während der zweiten Hälfte des Mittelalters*, Freiburg i. Br. 1892, p. 24.

[2] M.G., *Poet. carol.*, II, p. 208, 216.

[3] See my article in *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*, *Colomban* (*Archéologie de Saint*), col. 2196. Annegray, com. of Voivre, arr. of Lure (Haute-Saône).

to be a miraculous imprint of his hand.[1] The second cave, situated to the north-west of Bobbio, is alleged to be the spot where the abbot drew his last breath.[2]

The wells dedicated to St. Columban in Germany and a prayer in old German (*Segen des hl. Columbanus*), which forms part of a collection of superstitious prayers of the sixteenth century, prove that the saint was also the object of popular worship on Teutonic soil.[3]

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[1] See article cited above. Cf. D. CAMBIASO, *San Colombano, sua opera e suo culto in Liguria* (*Rivista diocesana Genovese*, VI, 1916, p. 121-125). We may note, with respect to this handprint, that St. Magnus, who, according to tradition, was a disciple of St. Gall, having crossed the Leck in order to carry the Gospel into Allgäu, built a cell for himself at the place since called Mangstritt (footprint of Magnus) where in later times was built the monastery of Füssen. See M. OTT, article *Magnus* in the *Cath. Encyclopaedia* and DAVID LEISTLE, *Die Aebte des St. Magnusstiftes in Füssen* (*Studien u. Mitteilungen zur Gesch. des Benediktiner-Ordens*, N.F.I., 1911, p. 549 s.).

[2] See art. cited above in *Dict. d'arch. chrét.*

[3] H. WEINHOLD, *Die Verehrung der Quellen in Deutschland* (*Abhandlungen* of the Academy of Berlin, 1888, p. 37). J. BOLTE, *Deutsche Segen des* 16 *Jahrhunderts* (*Zeit. des Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XIV, 1904, p. 435). The same formula is found in NISARD, *Histoire des livres populaires* (Paris, 1854, II, p. 50) with the name of Coloman, son of

In Britanny, a country which nevertheless the saint had not crossed, he was anciently honoured as can be gathered from the considerable number of churches and chapels dedicated to him, and also from the Breton old liturgical books.[1] At Locminé (Morbihan) for centuries he has been invoked for the cure of mad and epileptic persons. This explains the expression " Kas éan de Logouneh " (he must be taken to Locminé "), which is the same as saying : he is mad.[2]

In many lands the cult of St. Gall has developed step for step with that of his master St. Columban, as at Pfäffers, Einsiedeln, Bamberg, Hirschau, and in Liguria.[3] In addition, Stueckelberg enumerates some sixty Swiss localities where St. Gall is (or was) venerated,

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king Tibery (*sic*) of Hibernia. There exists also a Latin prayer attributed to St. Columban (See my article *Celtiques* (*liturgies*) in the *Dict. d'arch.*, col. 2986.

[1] See *Colomban* (*Archéologie de Saint*), col. 2196 ; J. Loth, *Les noms des saints bretons*, Paris, 1910, p. 25 ; [F. Duine], *Memento des sources hagiographiques de l'histoire de Bretagne*, Rennes, 1918, p. 120 s.

[2] E. Ernault, in *Mélusine*, XI, 208.

[3] Stueckelberg, *loc. cit.*; Beissel, *loc. cit.*; D. Cambiaso, *L'anno ecclesiastico e le feste dei santi in Genova*, Genova, 1917, p. 248.

and more than a dozen German, Lorraine, and Alsatian churches which preserve some of his relics or have been placed under his name.[1]

St. Gall occupies an important place in the popular devotions of Germany. He is reckoned among the genii of fountains (Brunnenheiligen).[2] He is also invoked, notably in Bavaria, as a *Speisespender* saint.[3] It is under this title he appears in a *Tobiassegen* or form of blessing for the welfare of travellers :

> Sante Galle dîner spise pflege.
> Sante Gêrdrût dir herberge gebe.[4]

(May St. Gall give you food and St. Gertrude a bed.)

His feast-day (16th October) is a cardinal date

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[1] Wittnau (in 809), Weissenau (in 1172), Gallenweiler (in 1173), Murbach, Constance, Ueberlingen (in 1300), Reichenau, Metz, Seefelden, Zimmern, Bietkingen, Gutestein, Saint Blasien (E. A. STUECKELBERG, *Die schweizerischen Heiligen des Mittelalters*, Zürich, 1903, p. 51).

[2] WEINHOLD, *loc. cit.*

[3] M. HOEFLER, *Die Kalender-heiligen als Krankheitspatrone beim bayerischen Volk* (*Zeitschr. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde*, I, 1891, p. 302).

[4] MUELLENHOFF and SCHERER, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, Berlin, 1892, I, p. 189. On the 16th October it was customary to bless wine destined to comfort fever patients. See the formula in FRANZ, *Benediktionen*, II, p. 478-479.

in the rustic calendar of Alsace, as the following sayings show :

Selon que S. Gall le voudra,
L'été prochain se montrera.

Au jour de S. Gall, crac !
La pomme doit être au sac.

A la Saint Gall la vache
Dans l'écurie se cache.

S. Gall, Dieu nous protège !
Laisse tomber la neige.[1]

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[1] P. RISTELHUBER, *La Saint-Gall* (*Revue des traditions populaires*, X, 1895, p. 602).

IV.—Saints Specially Honoured in Belgium and France

THE story of St. Dimphne, or Dympne, bristles with obscure points. Even her Irish nationality remains in doubt. Legend makes her the daughter of an Irish pagan king. Secretly baptised, it is said that she fled from her native land in order to escape from a shameful destiny. She is supposed to have landed at Antwerp and to have fixed her residence at Gheel. Her father, according to the legend, having discovered the place of her retreat, crossed the seas to secure her, and finally slew her with his own hand. This saint is thought to have lived in the sixth or seventh century; but the earliest known reference to the veneration paid to this virgin and martyr goes back no further than the middle of the thirteenth century.[1]

She has an altar in the *béguinage* of Hasselt

[1] L. VAN DER ESSEN, *Etude critique et littéraire sur les Vitae des saints Mérovingiens de l'ancienne Belgique*, Louvain, 1907, p. 316.

(Belgian Limburg), another in the church of Saint-Quentin in the same town, and a third at Herck-la-Ville ;[1] but she is more particularly venerated at Gheel (Province of Antwerp), where she is invoked for the care of the insane for whom that city has provided a large establishment.

Formerly it was customary to subject persons to a treatment which consisted in making them crawl nine times beneath St. Dympne's cenotaph. The spot where this rite was performed is called by the countryfolk *kruip huise* (the creeping house). "The 15th of May, festival day of the martyr, *ganging* (a general pilgrimage) takes place, and hundreds of peasant men and women of the neighbourhood, who are neither mad nor sick, pass beneath the cenotaph."[2]

In the footsteps of St. Fursa († *c.* 650) and of his two brothers Foillan and Ultan, whom the Belgians call Feuillen and Ultain, one treads on more solid ground.[3] The official cult of

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[1] J. Brassinne, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

[2] H. Gaidoz, *Un vieux rite médical* (*Mélusine*, VIII, col. 252).

[3] See *Chrétientés celtiques*, p. 150 s.

Fursa goes back to Merovingian times.[1] He is the patron of Péronne, where his tomb is preserved, and of seven other parishes of the diocese of Amiens. Several chapels and wells also keep alive his memory in Picardy.[2]

The tomb of St. Fursa was a spot beloved by Irish piety. Foillan and Ultan were among the first to cross the sea to visit it as pilgrims. Foillan did not stay long in the monastery of Péronne; soon he went to dwell at Nivelles, another place where the *Scotti* were *personae gratae*.[3]

Foillan received as a gift from Itta, wife of Pipin II, Mayor of the Palace, and mother of St. Gertrude of Nivelles, the land of Fosses on which he founded a monastery. He perished, murdered by brigands, in the forest of Seneffe. The town of Fosses still holds his memory in high veneration. Every seventh year it celebrates, amid a great concourse of pilgrims and much ceremony, the procession or march of

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[1] L. Delisle, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[2] Norbert Friart, *Histoire de S. Fursy, de S. Feuillen et de S. Ultain*, Lille [1913], p. 462.

[3] Van der Essen, *op. cit.*, p. 2, 82, 151. Cf. W. Levison, in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift f. Geschichte u. Kunst*, XXVII. 1909, p. 503.

St. Foillan. The neighbouring places send as their delegates armed "compagnies." It takes nearly the whole day to bear the bust of the saint over the traditional course. At each station—of which there are seven—the "compagnies" fire a salute.[1]

Liège, which has a church dedicated to St. Brigid, has another under the invocation of St. Foillan, as have also Omezée and other Belgian towns and villages.[2] Devotion to St. Foillan has even reached Aix-la-Chapelle, where a parish church and a guild, both very old, are placed under his patronage.[3]

The most ancient *Vita Gertrudis* was written shortly after the death of that abbess by a monk

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[1] E. C. DELCHAMBRE, *Vie de S. Feuillen*, Namur, 1861, p. 211 s. Cf. FELIX ROUSSEAU, *Legéndes et coutumes du pays de Namur*, Brussels, 1920, p. 108 s. The septennial procession of St. Foillan was celebrated on the 25th September, 1921. I am indebted for this information to Dom Ursmer Berlière, O.S.B., who had the kindness to send me the detailed programme of the festival.

[2] BRASSINNE, *op. cit.*, p. 87; T. A. WALSH, *Irish Saints in Belgium* (*Eccles. Review*, XXXIX, 1908, p. 125).

[3] KORTH, *op. cit.*, p. 64-65. The existence of this church is attested by a document dated 24th March, 1166. (C. RHOEN, *Geschichte der St. Foilanskirche zu Aachen*, Aachen, 1892, p. 6).

of the double monastery of Nivelles. The author relates that on the eve of her death Gertrude sent a brother to Ultan, abbot of Fosses, to ask if he could foretell when she should give back her soul to God. Ultan gave the following answer to her messenger: "To-day is the 17th of the calends of April [*i.e.* 16th March]; to-morrow the soul of the virgin Gertrude will leave her body. Tell her to have no fear. She may die without a tremor and joyously depart, for the blessed bishop Patrick gets ready, with the chosen angels of God, to receive her into glory." [1] The prophecy came true next day: Gertrude died the 17th March of the year 659.

From the early middle ages her cult was spread, not only over Brabant, Flanders, and the north of France, but also along the banks of the Rhine and in Germany. In all these countries very many churches and chapels bear her name.[2] As to the popular devotion offered to her, none greater flourishes. Guardian of

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[1] *Vita*, ed. Br. Krusch, M.G, *Script. rer. Merov.*, II, p. 462-463.

[2] Brassinne, *op. cit.*, p. 89; Korth, *op. cit.*, p. 75; P. Miesges, *Der trierer Festkalender*, p. 88.

wells,[1] harbinger of Spring,[2] patroness of gardeners,[3] destroyer of rats and field mice,[4] bringer of peace,[5] above all else, however, she was invoked as the protectress of travellers and purveyor of good lodgings.[6] In order to obtain her favour before setting out on a journey, it was customary to drink the viaticum called *Gertrudis amorem*, the *Sinte Geerts Minne* of the Flemish countries, the *Gertrudenminne* of Germany, a custom which goes back very far, and recalls the *Johannisminne* always held in great esteem in the lands of southern Germany.[7]

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[1] WEINHOLD, *loc. cit.*

[2] " Am Gertrudentage steht der Bär auf " (Tyrol) ; " Um Gertraud geht die Wärm von der Erd' auf " (Bavaria), sayings quoted by J. ZINGERLE, *Johannissegen und Gertrudenminne* (*Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Vienna : Cl. of philos. and hist., XL, 1862, p. 221).

[3] ZINGERLE, *op. cit.*, p. 222 ; ANDREE, *Votive Weihgaben*, p. 12.

[4] ZINGERLE, *op. cit.*, p. 221-222.

[5] See TH. FISCHER'S note at p. 104 of his already quoted edition of the *Carmen satiricum* of NICHOLAS DE BIBRA ; GRIMM, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 2nd. ed., p. 53, 797, 798.

[6] " Sante Gêrtrût dir herberge gebe " (MÜLLENHOFF and SCHERER, *op. cit.*, I, p. 189 ; ZINGERLE, *op. cit.*, p. 225 ; J. WERNER, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Aarau, 1905, p. 182.

[7] On the antiquity of this custom, see ZINGERLE, *op. cit.* and chiefly FRANZ, *Benediktionen*, I, p. 289-290. According

It was also reputed that Gertrude of Nivelles received the dead on their leaving this world: "Aliqui dicunt quod quando anima egressa est, tunc prima nocte pernoctabit cum beata Gertrude, secunda nocte cum archangelis, sed tertia nocte vadit sicut definitum est de ea."[1] She was also invoked as the patroness of a good death:

> O pia Gertrudis, quae pacis commoda cudis
> Bellaque concludis, nos caeli mergito ludis.[2]

For an explanation of this devotion we must probably look to the circumstances of the death of the abbess herself, St. Patrick with angels acting as her usher into the heavenly court.

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to an addition [later than the eleventh century] to the *Vita Gertrudis tripartita* (ch. XIV), the custom of drinking "to the love of Gertrude" was already in usage *in tocius Austriae et Alimaniae partibus*: "Cuncti pene volentes peregre proficisci seu de loco ad locum peragrare devotionis gratia in sanctae Gertrudis amore et honore vini seu alterius liquoris potabilis haustum, *qui sente Gertrud minne* theutonice, latine amor sanctae Gertrudis dicitur, abscedendo sumere consuevissent." (VAN DER ESSEN, *op. cit.*, p. 11).

[1] Ms. of fifteenth century. Cf. J. A. SCHMELLER, in the *Zeit. f. deutsches Altertum*, I, 1841, p. 423.

[2] See TH. FISCHER'S note quoted above.

The coincidence of the festival of the virgin of Nivelles with that of the patron of Ireland, and the remembrance of the very special protection she vouchsafed to the monks of Erin, must have rendered her memory dear to all Irishmen; and it is permissible to believe that they, remarkable propagandists as they were, had something to do with spreading so widely and deeply the great devotion to this saint.

This is the place to mention the names of some of the *peregrini minores*, disciples of St. Columban, like St. Desle (or Deicola), or companions of St. Fursa and of his two brothers, like St. Algise, St. Maugille, and St. Gobain.[1] We are almost completely without historical data dealing with these secondary personages; but they still occupy a certain place in the folklore of the north and east of France, and for that reason they deserve some notice.

In the course of her wanderings in these regions, Margaret Stokes came across two wells of St. Desle near the village of Saint-Germain,

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[1] See above, Part I, section 2. The Forest of St. Gobain was the scene of heavy fighting in the late war.

five kilometres from Lure (Haute-Saône), a town which owes its origin to a monastery of which St. Desle was first abbot. The water of one of these wells is possessed of healing virtues for childish maladies as is vouched for by the remains of children's clothing hung around as ex-votos. Miss Stokes gives a sketch of this well. Other illustrations of her book depict the well of St. Algise at the village of the canton of Vervins (Aisne) which bears the name of this saint, and three wells of Saint Fursa, one at Lagny (Seine-et-Marne), where the abbot dwelt some time on arriving in Gaul, another at Frohen (Somme) where he died, and the third at Péronne.[1]

Another Irishman, St. Fiacre, a contemporary of St. Gertrude, shares with her the patronage of gardeners. Very few assured details about his career are known. We learn only that he found a protector in St. Faro, Bishop of Meaux, who had already encouraged yet another Irishman, St. Kilian, to settle at Aubigny, in the outskirts of Arras. Faro made over to Fiacre a property situated at Breuil, who there established

[1] M. Stokes, *Forests of France*, p. 111, 177, 196, 203, and 229.

a hermitage and built a guest-house for foreign travellers.[1] These have since resulted in the existing village of Saint-Fiacre, where for centuries numbers of pilgrims have gathered in search of health.[2]

St. Fiacre was one of the most popular saints of ancient France. He was invoked for the cure of a great variety of ills. In Alsace those who are afflicted with a certain disease, about which we will speak more fully when dealing with St. Monus, have recourse to him.[3] In Britanny, this Irish saint has under his invocation a chapel well known for the elegance of its architecture and the beauty of its rood-loft. Around this chapel, which stands two kilometres from Le Faouët, is held a pardon, but,

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[1] See *Chrét. celtiques*, p. 147.

[2] Canton of Crécy (Seine-et-Marne). Indulgences were already granted to pilgrims by Philip, bishop of Meaux, in 1227 (*Cf.* MARTENE, *De antiq. Eccl. ritibus*, V, 16 ; vol. III, p. 283).

[3] L. DU BROC DE SEGANGE, *Les saints patrons des corporations et protecteurs spécialement invoqués dans les maladies*, Paris, 1888, II, p. 204 s. "Fiacrius ist der typische Syphilisheilige des Elsasses" (L. PFLEGER, *Das Auftreten der Syphilis in Strassburg . . . und der Kult des hl. Fiacrius*, in the *Zeit. f. die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, new series, XXXIII, 1918, p. 169).

in all the Morbihan, the chapel of St. Fiacre at Radenac is the most frequented.[1] Few people are aware that the vehicle which is now being eclipsed by the taxi-car owes its name to this Irish hermit of the seventh century. A man named Sauvage was the first to let out on hire carriages known originally as the five sous coaches (the rate for hiring was only five sous the hour) from his establishment in the rue Saint-Martin in Paris. It was a large house known as the hotel Saint-Fiacre from its sign-board which represented the saint. The name was passed on from the hotel to the carriages.[2]

The chief town in a canton of Finistère bears the name of Saint-Renan. In his fine book *Au pays des pardons* Anatole Le Braz sketches the legend of St. Ronan, or Renan, a solitary of the seventh century, who would appear to have come from Ireland to Armorica, and whose

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[1] There is also a village of Saint-Fiacre in the canton of Plouagat, arrondis. of Guingamp (Côtes-du-Nord).

[2] See the word "fiacre" in Littré's Dictionary. The explanation given by Berthoumieu does not appear to be well grounded. He says: "These hired vehicles were thus named because at first they were destined to jaunt the Parisian crowd to Saint-Fiacre-de-Brie" (*Fêtes et dévotions populaires*, Paris, 1873, p. 245).

remains are venerated at Locronan. A septennial procession, called the *Troménie de S. Ronan*, defiles the second Sunday of July along the flanks of Ménez-Hom, on the land of four parishes: Locronan, Quéménéven, Plogonnec and Plounérez-Porzay. The pilgrims of the Troménie follow a traditional route which has not varied for centuries, a route borrowed from the uncertain tracks St. Ronan himself was wont to tread fasting.[1]

In order to find another Irish saint who is still in our own day venerated on French soil, we must pass from the shores of the Atlantic into Savoy. In the ancient church of Lemenc, on a height overlooking the town of Chambéry, is preserved the shrine of Concord (his real name was Conchobhar Mac Concoille), archbishop of Armagh, who died in the odour of sanctity in the Benedictine priory of Lemenc on his way back to his diocese from Rome in the year 1175.[2] The memory of the saintly

[1] A. Le Braz, *Au pays des pardons*, Paris [1900], p. 259 s. Dom F. Plaine, *Le tombeau monumental et le pèlerinage de S. Ronan* (*Revue de l'art chrétien*, 2nd. series, XI, 1879, p. 273-285).

[2] Gams, *Series episcoporum*, p. 207; *Annals of the Four Masters*, for the year 1175, ed. O'Donovan, III, p. 22-23.

archbishop has been kept in great veneration in the district. "For a quarter of a century [we may now say for three-quarters of a century] archbishops of Armagh have several times been seen, on their journey from Ireland to Rome, to stop at Chambéry, either going or returning, in order to venerate the remains of their illustrious predecessor. One of them, Mgr. Dixon [† 1866] even solicited and obtained permission from Mgr. Billiet, archbishop of Chambéry, to carry to Ireland a considerable portion of one of the bones of the saint." [1]

A confraternity of St. Concord was established at Lemenc in 1643. The feast of the saint is celebrated on the 4th June, the anniversary day of his death. He was the second archbishop of Armagh to die in France. A few years earlier, in 1148, the celebrated St. Malachy had expired at Clairvaux in the arms of St. Bernard, who has left us his biography.

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[1] H. Gaidoz, *Un saint irlandais en Savoie* (*Revue celtique*, VIII, 1887, p. 165-168); Trepier, *Recherches historiques sur le décanat de Saint-André de Savoie*, Chambéry, p. 201 (a work quoted by M. Gaidoz).

V.—Saints Specially Honoured in German Lands

ST. Kilian, bishop of Wurzburg and apostle of Franconia, was put to death with two of his companions, the priest Coloman and the deacon Totnam, about the year 640. He is reverenced as a martyr. Churches, chapels, wells and mountains bear his name in German lands.[1] In the collegiate church of Essen there was an altar dedicated to St. Kilian, and, prior to the translation of St. Liborius's relics to Paderborn (836), the Irish martyr was co-patron of the cathedral of the last named city.[2]

Schönbach has published a curious text containing a list of saints who will be called upon to present for the last judgment the nations which respectively they had evangelized: St. Peter will come forward with Judæa, St. Paul

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[1] BEISSEL, p. 24; KORTH, p. 108-109; WEINHOLD, p. 87; HOEFLER, p. 299.

[2] FR. ARENS, *Der Liber ordinarius der Essener Stiftkirche* Essen, 1901, p. 257.

with the Gentiles, St. Andrew with Achaia, St. John with Asia, St. Thomas with India, St. Rupert of Salzburg will present the Bavarians and St. Kilian the Franconians.[1]

We have very few precise data about St. Fridolin. It does not appear to be absolutely certain that he came from Ireland; but he is considered to be the founder of the abbey of Säckingen on the Rhine to the south of the Black Forest, in the sixth century; and from that spot his apostolical activity was felt throughout the Brisgau. In Alsace-Lorraine, Switzerland, Austria, Southern Germany and, above all, in the Black Forest, the countryfolk hold him in the highest respect.[2] In these lands St. Fridolin is regarded, like several Irish saints with whom we have already dealt, as the protector of horned cattle (*Rinderheiliger*) and

[1] Ms. 1756 in the Vienna Library (fol. 4ª). As regards St. Patrick, as we have seen above, an ancient Irish belief claims that he will be deputed to *judge* the Irish. According to a less extravagant belief, Patrick, like the saints named above, will only be called upon to present the Irish for the Last Judgment. See the hymn of Fiacc *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, II, p. 33 and J. B. Bury, *The Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1905, p. 319-320.

[2] See Hermann Leo, *Der heiliger Fridolin*, Freiburg i. Br., 1886, book V.

horses. Formerly, at Ewatingen, near Bonndorf, the rector used to bless the horses on the saint's festival day, the 6th March. At Oberschwoerstadt, near Säckingen, at Ehrenstetten, and at Kirchpofen, near Staufen, it is the custom to wait for the *Friedlesfest* before placing the yoke on young bullocks or leading calves from the cattle-shed across the village to the watering-place. On the 6th March, there is a great assembly of pilgrims at Säckingen, where rest the bones of St. Fridolin.[1]

Under the name of St. Monus, or Mannus, invocation is still made in German country parts to a supposed Irish personage who is represented with a handbell and a pig, after the manner of St. Antony. Monus is the patron of marriage, and furthermore he shares with St. Fiacre and St. Leonard, whose life is as shadowy as his own, the privilege of healing from the sickness known to the peasants of Southern Germany as the *Monuskrankheit*, and which is nothing else than the worst form of venereal disease. His feast falls on the 12th July.[2]

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[1] E. H. Meyer, *Badisches Volksleben im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Strassburg, 1900, p. 406-407.

[2] Hoeffler, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

The celebrated abbey of Melk, which dominates the Danube, is one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in Austria. There sleeps the Irish St. Coloman in a tomb raised for him by the emperor St. Henry. Coloman was on his way to the Holy Land when he was assassinated at Stockerau near Vienna, in 1012, by people who mistook him for a spy.[1] The popular voice has made him a martyr. His cult is not confined to Melk. In the Palatinate, in Suabia, in Bavaria, in Austria and in Hungary, when it is not St. Fridolin who is invoked, it is to St. Coloman people have recourse for the protection or healing of their horses and horned cattle.[2] Chapels in his honour are very numerous in those countries. They are generally erected in open spaces and for choice on heights. On the feast day of the saint, 13th October, and on other days in the year, the animals are brought to these chapels to receive the priest's blessing.

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[1] See *Chrét. celtiques*, p. 172.

[2] ANDREE, *op. cit.*, p. 38 and 66 s.: *Kurgefasste Geschichte von dem heil . . . Kolomann . . .*, Vienna, 1774, p. 44-46; C. JUHAIZ, *S. Koloman der einstige Schutzpatron Niederösterreichs*, Linz, 1916.

In the wood of Saint-Coloman, near to Böhmenkirch (Wurtemberg) may be seen an old chapel falling into ruins. Up to the end of the eighteenth century pilgrimages were made to it from a dozen neighbouring parishes on Whit Monday. It was nothing unusual to count from 400 to 500 horses in the wood. The head of St. Coloman was exposed at the door of the chapel. After the traditional blessing the horses circled three times around the building.

At Hohenschwangau, near Füssen, in Bavaria, the blessing of cattle and horses still takes place on the 13th October. After the ceremony, some thirty mounted horses, having once made the round of the chapel, go off at a gallop in the direction of Schwangau.[1] Votive wells dedicated to St. Coloman are often to be seen close to his chapels.[2] This Irish saint is also invoked by marriageable maidens who address him as follows :

" Heiliger Sankt Kolomann,
O schenk' mir auch ein' Mann,
Aber nur kein' Roten ! " [3]

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[1] ANDREE, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
[2] HOEFLER, p. 301-302 ; WEINHOLD, p. 37.
[3] HOEFLER, *loc. cit.*

Lastly, recourse was had to St. Coloman against pestilence. In 1713, Melk offered to its patron a wax candle weighing 70 lbs. to obtain for the population protection from the scourge which was then devastating Austria.[1]

The Irish passion for long voyages and adventurous expeditions was so well known to continental writers of the middle ages and later centuries that they came to speak of it as being in some sort a proverbial truth. The blood of the Celt carries him to distant lands :

" Keltisch Blut treibt in die Ferne." [2]

English humour has compressed this truth of experience into the familiar saying : *Pat is never at home but when he is abroad.* " Aucun peuple, en effet," affirms Samuel Berger, " n'a jamais été plus voyageur ni plus noblement inspiré de l'ardeur missionnaire." [3] It must, however, be well understood that it was not only saints, or,

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[1] ANDREE, p. 81 ; G. DEPPISCH, *Geschichte des hl. Colomanni*, Vienna, 1734, p. 205.

[2] SCHEFFEL, *Der Trompeter von Säckingen* (3rd. canto : *Der Fridolinustag*), Stuttgart, 1859, p. 45.

[3] *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, Paris, 1893, p. 46.

if it be preferred, candidates to sanctity whom the flowing tide of emigration swept far from their island home. We have dealt in the first part of this study with those vagabond clerics and monks, with those *episcopi vagantes*, whose unseemly and turbulent activity estranged from them the sympathy of some continental people.[1] One may recall the witticisms of Nicholas of Bibra against the *Scotti* of Erfurt. About two hundred years earlier (tenth or eleventh centuries), a certain Garnier of Rouen attacked still more violently an Irish poet of doubtful morality called Moriuh.[2] On one hand, reproach is cast on some of these wandering strangers for their heterodox or too bold opinions; on another, they are mocked for their boastfulness, their quarrelsome humour, their odd way of dressing, or for their hagiographic dithyrambs inspired by a ridiculous fanaticism.[3]

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[1] See above, Part 1, Ch. III.

[2] H. OMONT, *Satire de Garnier de Rouen contre le poète Moriuht* (*Annuaire-bulletin de la soc. de l'histoire de France*, XXXI, 1894, p. 193-210).

[3] NICOLAUS DE BIBERA, *op. cit.*; GARNIER DE ROUEN, *op. cit.*; JOCELIN DE BRAKELOND, *Chronica*, 35. Cf. *Chrét. celt.*, p. 160-161 and the anonymous satire against the St. Brendan fable-makers.

But nearly all these criticisms are addressed to the rear divisions of the pilgrim bands, to the lost children who constituted the worthless camp followers, the wasted material, the flotsam and jetsam, of the emigration. From the tenth to the eleventh century the salt of charity was already losing its savour, and missionary fervour had almost grown cold.[1]

On the contrary, in order to describe the great figures of the heroic age—a Columban, a Gall, a Fursa and their imitators—the continental writers of those times cannot find sufficiently fitting expressions of praise.[2] The case we have just drawn up proves beyond cavil that the saints of this period exerted a very

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[1] Nevertheless an Irish bishop, called John, obtained the martyr's palm in Mecklenburg, in 1066, after baptizing several thousands of pagans in northern Germany. About this martyr see Adam of Bremen († 1076), *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, III, 20, 50, 70 (MG. *Scriptores*, VII, p. 343, 355, 366-367) and J. FISCHER, *Kann Bishof Johannes aus Irland mit Recht als erster Martyrer Amerikas bezeichnet werden?* (*Zeitschrift für katholisches Theologie*, XXIV, 1900, p. 756-758).

[2] See *Chrét. celt.*, p. 293-294, and also *Vita Samsonis* (*Boll. Acta Sanct.*, July, VI, 582), THIERRY OF SAINT-TROND, *Vita Rumoldi*, I (*Ibid.*, July, II, 215), *Vita Sanctae Odae*, II, 14 (GHESQUIÈRE, *Acta Sanct. Belgii*, 1788, VI, p. 629), etc.

deep influence on the peoples they either led or won back to the Gospel faith. From generation to generation the country people have mysteriously handed down the names of these strangers, invoking their supernatural power for the protection of the inmates of their stables, their principal wealth.

Death itself did not put a stop to the peregrinations of these *transmarini*. Their relics passed from monastery to monastery, from church to church, and with them went all those attributes of folklore to which their names remain attached with remarkable persistence. On the other hand, a good deal of superstition is mingled with the popular worship accorded to the old saints from Ireland. The wind which wafts good seed disperses also in every direction the seed of tares and weeds. It is, however, no less definitely established that these ardent apostles sent new currents of religious life throughout Christendom, and that several among them proved to be incomparable spiritual guides to souls. Their zeal, their courage, their personal virtues, the warmth of their faith have largely contributed to assure them their long continued popularity.

But there is yet another thing which helps to explain their success. No one is a prophet in his own country. The history of the Church demonstrates the truth of that evangelical saying in a manner which is fairly disconcerting to human conceptions. St. Martin, the great apostle of Gaul, came to us from Pannonia; St. Boniface, the national patron of Germany, was an Englishman. England was evangelised by the Roman monk Augustine and his companions sent by Pope St. Gregory. As to Ireland herself, it is to the neighbouring island that she owes her St. Patrick.

The Irish missionaries came from a mysterious land, lost in the mists of the ocean which ebbed and flowed at the furthest extremity of the inhabited world. Weird legends were afloat about that land. Especially was it said that holiness flourished there more than anywhere else, and that it worked wonders: "Locus vere sanctus fecundusque sanctorum, copiosissime fructificans Deo," says St. Bernard in speaking of the monastery of Bangor, the cloister of St. Comgall and St. Columban. He adds that the swarms of saints (*examina sanctorum*) who spread over Europe in the train of the last men-

tioned saint might well make one think that the words of David: "Thou visitest the earth and blesseth it, Thou makest it very plenteous" had been written beforehand for them.[1]

All these reasons joined together explain how the heroes of Christian Ireland have come to occupy an unique place in the age-long traditions of foreign peoples.

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[1] *Vita Malachiae*, VI, 12 (MIGNE, P.L., CLXXXII, 1082), *St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Life of St. Malachy* translated by H. J. LAWLOR, London, 1920, p. 29.

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